# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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*FBIS-SOV-94-016* *25 January 1994*

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## Envoy Says Date for Armenian-Azerbaijani Summit Not Set

*LD2401165194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] A concrete date for the possible meeting between Azeri President Gaydar Aliyev and his Armenian counterpart Levon Ter-Petrosyan in Moscow has not been fixed yet, the special envoy of President Yeltsin, Vladimir Kazimirov, who leads Russia's mission for settling the conflict in Karabakh, told INTERFAX on Monday [24 January].

"Meetings on such a level should be prepared very carefully," he pointed out. "It's premature to mention concrete dates before concluding preparations that would ensure success for the proposed summit," he said.

According to Kazimirov, Russian mediators intend to continue the work they are conducting "in the three major points of the conflict"—Baku, Yerevan, and Stepanakert, as well as in Moscow. "As long as we are at this stage, I am not in a position to say when this work can be raised to a higher level," the diplomat said.

The meetings held in Moscow recently by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev with his Azeri and Armenian counterparts Gasan Gasanov and Vagan Papazian, as well as with a spokesman for the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh, Arkadiy Gukasyan, showed that "the stands taken by the conflicting sides drew somewhat closer," he noted.

Nevertheless, the talks were "rather complicated," Kazimirov said. "We are dealing with one of the fiercest and longest conflicts in the territory of the former USSR. Therefore it would be naive to believe that the entire knot of problems will be untangled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned overnight. We proceed from the assumption that a settlement will be gradual, that it will consist of searches for compromises on virtually all points," the diplomat said.

## 'Mercenaries' Said Fighting in Karabakh Conflict

*WS2101202294 Tallinn BNS in English 1632 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 21, BNS—Mercenaries from Estonia and Lithuania fight as part of the Armenian troops in the conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region, said a Russian soldier taken prisoner by Azerbaijani forces in December.

A BNS correspondent has seen videotapes of the interrogation of the Russian soldier, Vasily Lugovoy, by Azerbaijani Interior Minister Vagif Novruzov.

Lugovoy at interrogations in the Azerbaijani capital Baku on Jan. 15 said he had met three female snipers near the Juhhar-Bahmal village in the conflict region on Dec. 28 and 29.

The three woman soldiers had claimed they were from the Baltics. Lugovoy says the women had talked with what he called a Baltic accent and were either Lithuanians or Estonians.

Lugovoy, a former Soviet military, served as mercenary in a pioneer unit of the Armenian troops. He said he had also previously met both male and female wage soldiers from Estonia and Lithuania. He said the Armenians valued highly the skills of "mercenaries from the Baltics" and paid them in U.S. dollars. Lugovoy said Russian soldiers earned 35,000 rubles a day in the Karabakh fighting in late 1993.

The Russian soldier also said in the interrogation he had been told that "two Baltic mercenaries" were granted the rank of senior lieutenant of the Armenian Armed Forces and that they had received a personal gun as gift from Armenia.

Lugovoy, born in 1960, formerly served in the Soviet troops in Germany.

A BNS correspondent earlier has met with an artillery officer fighting on the Armenian side in Nagorno-Karabakh, who said he came from Estonia. The man, however, was not ethnic Estonian.

## Baltic States Council Appoints Human Rights Commissioner

*WS2101212794 Tallinn BNS in English 1932 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 21, BNS—The Senior Officials Committee of the Council of the Baltic Sea States adopted a budget for the institution of the council's Commissioner for Human Rights and Ethnic Minority Issues and discussed possible nominations for the office.

The Senior Officials Committee met in Tallinn on Jan. 20-21.

A final decision on establishing the new commissioner's institution with the Council of the Baltic Sea States must be made by the council's foreign ministers at conference to be held in Tallinn in May, said Mare Kukk, the head of the Estonian coordination bureau of the council.

Kukk said the new office was designed as an expert institution to consult the council's member countries, coordinate the activities of human rights organizations and inform the international community about the human rights and minority rights situation in region.

The commissioner will not engage in resolving conflicts, Kukk added.

The draft of the commissioner's mandate was approved by the senior officials in September.

The budget of the new office, established at about 270,000 German marks, is much smaller than that of the CSCE High Commissioner for Human Rights and Ethnic Minorities. Expenses will be covered proportionally by all members of the council according to the size of the country.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Jan

*LD2501072494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0540 GMT 25 Jan 94*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—IZVESTIYA on the state of affairs in the Russian parliament and government:

"Unity in the Federal Assembly will be achieved, perhaps, only at a desperate moment when (in May or June, according to forecasts) inflation will reach its peak once again and deputies of various political orientation, in order to save face, will concertedly put to the vote the question of confidence in the government, no longer regarding it either as a 'friend' or 'foe'".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the same subject:

"The first round of struggle in the State Duma has ended. In a relatively peaceful way. The Duma has got down to work. What the results will be, good or bad, will be shown by the first laws which the Duma will pass."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article by Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Communist Party group in the State Duma.

Zyuganov writes as follows:

"To develop a legislative basis is undoubtedly an essential thing to do. But it is clear to any unprejudiced observer that the country's present-day problems lie on a somewhat different plane.

"We suffer from a deficit of legality, not a deficit of laws. None of the existing laws is being properly enacted and, what is most dangerous, an example in this respect is being set by top executive structures with the president at the head...

"The question is as follows: either legality is restored, or the country would plunge deeper and deeper into the quagmire of an economic catastrophe and a slugglishly proceeding civil war which threatens to develop into a full-scale one at any moment".

IZVESTIYA on economic problems:

"Since the position of Finance Minister Boris Fedorov has not yet been decided upon, it is unclear which matters of relationships with international financial organisations will be tackled by which ministry".

New Economics Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, "judging by his remarks, is ready for a certain compromise. At the same time he said the Economics Ministry should be in control of the entire economic situation, including foreign economic relations".

IZVESTIYA, in another article on economic issues, points out that Central Bank chief Viktor Gerashchenko "is really convinced that monetary injections and the restoration of old economic contacts would boost production and make it possible to move on to a market economy smoothly by state regulation methods."

"'Smoothly' and 'state regulation' are exceptionally important from the personal point of view as well. Mr Gerashchenko has already staked out a claim for the job of a chairman of the interstate bank of CIS countries.

"If the monetary system of Russia is combined, to begin with, with those of Belarus and Tajikistan. And the 'wrong' done to Messr Nazarbayev and Karimov is then 'redressed', it will turn out that Gerashchenko would again emerge as the head of an almost gosbank of the Soviet Union. If this office is approved by the parliaments of 5-7 countries, no Russian reformers would be able to topple the head of such an institution. This will be like the chief justice of the Supreme Court in America who is elected for life."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an exclusive interview with President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan after his January 21 meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"We consider that Tatarstan should be represented in the federal parliament. But, in order to secure that the population of the republic show activism, it is essential to sign a bilateral treaty. It is simply naive to expect the electorate to be active without determining a relationship formula", Shaymiyev said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) on service in the Russian Army under contract:

"Of course, a service under contract is to a large extent a solution to the problem of manning the Army and Navy. There are already 120,000 servicemen who have been enlisted under contract but this accounts for only 10 per cent of the needed strength."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with prominent political figure Valentin Falin, the author of a book entitled "Political Reminiscences" which became a bestseller in Germany.

In the book, Falin analyses the events which preceded the reunification of Germany.

"A contemplating attitude is not for great powers. When German reunificaiton was knocking at the door, it was not enough to appeal to a future verdict of histo y", Falin emphasises.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on a presidential decree and a State Duma draft resolution on an amnesty.

Leading experts from the Russian Interior Ministry's research institute, in comment on the decree and the State Duma draft resolution, explain that the issue of the presidential decree and the publication of a draft resolution on an amnesty do not at all mean that an amnesty has already been decided upon. Only a decree about bringing the draft resolution up for consideration by the deputies enters into force.

The Duma has the right to and is certain to introduce considerable changes to the document.

On the whole, the experts maintain, the draft resolution which is being suggested for discussion does not basically differ in any way from those which had been repeatedly passed before.

The draft resolution has been drawn up competently from the legal point of view and can in no way make for an increased tension in society. The main positive aspect of it is that the suggested amnesty would not apply to habitual criminals but would concern only those convicted for offences which do not pose grave danger to society.

IZVESTIYA on Lithuanian-Polish relations:

"Over the past two an a half years, there has been no serious rapprochement in the slightest degree between the two neighbouring countries whose cultures, traditions and religion are very similar... Fear of Polish expansion compels the Lithuanian authorities to tackle problems concerning ethnic Poles by methods which are far from being democratic."

### Churkin Announces 'New Initiative' for Bosnia

*LD2501134194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1306 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan—Russia has put forward a new initiative for a political settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was announced today at a news conference by Russian Federation Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin.

Speaking about the nature of the Russian proposals, he singled out three main components of the new initiative. First, Russia is proposing "urgent and careful preparations for a meeting of the UN Security Council to be held in Geneva, to which representatives of the three Bosnian sides, as well as the leaders of Yugoslavia and Croatia, would be invited. The aim of such a meeting would be to finalize an agreement on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to get this document signed.

"Second, as part of the process of preparing the session, Russia will ask the UN Secretary General to draw up "a detailed report on all aspects of the situation in this region, as well as the position at the settlement talks."

"Third, the Russian side believes that, without waiting for a meeting at foreign minister level, the UN Security Council should now proceed "to prepare a resolution on Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose main element would be a demand that a cease-fire be strictly observed, that the delivery of humanitarian aid should not be impeded, and that the operation of the well-known safe zones should be strengthened."

Vitaliy Churkin noted that "in resolving the Bosnian crisis it is essential to observe priorities and not to let the world forget that without a political settlement it will be impossible to achieve an in any way satisfactory solution to numerous humanitarian issues".

Russia's position on these problems, he stressed, is not "pro-Serbian, anti-Serbian, pro-Muslim, anti-Muslim or anything else of that kind."

"Our position is objective and aimed at bringing about a political settlement as quickly as possible. Otherwise, the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina could escalate to the point where it would cast its shadow far beyond the Balkan region," Vitaliy Churkin declared.

### Kozyrev Comments Before Departing for China

*LD2401203594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev does not intend to take a "pro-Serbian" position in the settlement of the Bosnian conflict despite the threats from LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Kozyrev announced this to an Interfax correspondent before leaving Moscow for Kyrgyzstan and China on Monday.

Zhirinovskiy stated last week that he gave Kozyrev a "week for thought," and if the Russian foreign minister did not correct his approach Zhirinovskiy would seek his resignation.

The foreign minister pointed out that the LDP leader's position was an "overt attempt to push Russia into a world war." He warned against engaging Russia in the conflict on the Balkan peninsula, where the First World War had started and led to the seizure in Russia of power by an irresponsible clique causing monstrous damage to the country for 70 years.

According to Kozyrev, "some political forces" may try to get Russia involved in a "global catastrophe," to make a career of this and to seize power.

"I am not satisfied with this scenario either in foreign or in domestic policy and I will never be satisfied with it. If after this Zhirinovskiy demands my resignation I will consider this as the best recognition of the correctness of my policy," the minister pointed out.

### Remarks on Various Issues

*LD2401203094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] "I would not be in a hurry to call the new composition of the Russian government conservative," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a group of journalists before his departure for Kyrgyzstan and China.

The minister said he had met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin before leaving on the visits and called these meetings "rich in content." Kozyrev said the prime minister was "determined to maintain financial discipline, even restrict it, and limit spending and loans."

Kozyrev said Chernomyrdin intended to attend to the European Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, to explain Russia's economic policy there. "We are planning considerable steps to streamline the economic reforms," he pointed out.

The foreign minister said he believed it a big mistake of Moscow's western partners and friends to wait for the failure of reforms in Russia. "It is necessary to make real business and help the Russian reforms instead of waiting for the scenario of the end of the world to come," he said.

In an answer to an Interfax question, Kozyrev said his political views had seen no changes.

"Kozyrev is still the same," the minister said. "He still supports good-neighborly relations with the Baltic states and an organized withdrawal of (Russian - IF note) troops on the basis of agreements rather than cries about occupants, etc., what I call political hysteria. But he still

supports observing human rights." At the same time, Kozyrev regretted that the Baltic states "were going further along the way of violating human rights." Among such violations, the minister indicated the "attempt to deport dozens of thousands people" from Latvia and "possibly Estonia."

### Leaves for Visit to Kyrgyzstan

*LD2401151294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 24 Jan—Andrey Kozyrev, the head of the foreign policy department of the Russian Federation, left today for a working visit to Kyrgyzstan. This is the first trip by the Russian minister this year. [passage omitted]

### To Make 'Official Visit' to China

*LD2401164494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is leaving for China for his first official visit this year. It is considered symbolic that for Russia the year 1994 is beginning with the U.S. President's Moscow visit and the Russian foreign minister's visit to Beijing. According to a high-ranking Russian Foreign Ministry official, these visits confirm that Russia's foreign policy is balanced and looks equally to the West and the East.

The visit is being held according to agreements on regular contacts and high-level consultations on issues of interest between the two countries. These agreements were reached during the Russian president's visit to China in 1992.

During the forthcoming talks in China, the two sides plan to discuss issues of preparation for the second Russian-Chinese summit. The negotiators will consider a wide range of issues of bilateral relations and regional and international problems of their common interest. It is obvious that Russian-Chinese relations have an influence on stability and security in Asia and all over the world, Mikhail Beliy, head of the First Asian Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told ITAR-TASS on Monday.

Positions of the two countries coincide on many international and regional issues, but naturally there are differences as well. The countries are working to settle them.

The Russian delegation will visit the province of Guangdong and familiarise itself with the special economic zone in Shezheng. The idea of creating such zones has provided a great stimulus to the development of China's economy. This idea has not yet been studied thoroughly in Russia, but is now being actively considered in the country.

Possibilities of and prospects for the development of economic and trade cooperation are to be discussed in Beijing. The volume of bilateral trade (38 per cent of which was accounted for by machinery exports to China) amounted to 7.2 billion dollars in 1993, a record for bilateral trade. The trade balance, 2 billion dollars, is in favour of Russia, though it has a clearing debt to China. It is worth mentioning that China is second only to Germany among Russian trade partners.

Progress has also been made in military and technical cooperation. Moscow exported SU-27 military aircraft and S-300 missile systems to Beijing.

The countries are conducting border negotiations. A treaty on settlement in the eastern section of the border was signed in May, 1991. A joint delegation from the two countries is still working on the western section.

"There are unsettled border problems, but there is no animosity, no danger of explosive situations", the Russian Foreign Ministry official believes.

During Andrey Kozyrev's visit, the sides are to sign a treaty on check points on the Russian-Chinese border and a protocol of consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries. There are 21 such check points (19 of which are operating) and the treaty is to fix the rules for their work and envisage new ones to cope with the increased traffic between Russia and China. 2.5 million people crossed the border last year.

Comprehensive development of Russian-Chinese relations and cooperation is in the interests of the two countries. It is mutually advantageous and promising, Beliy said.

### Commentator Views Visit

*OW2501054794 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By station commentator Kondratyev from the "Current Event and Commentary" program]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev is scheduled to visit China from 26-29 January. Station commentator Kondratyev said: The main purpose of Kozyrev's forthcoming visit is to prepare for the second Sino-Russian high-level meeting. Everybody will recall that Russian President Yeltsin held high-level talks with Chinese leaders during his visit to Beijing at the end of 1992. That first contact between Russian and Chinese leaders yielded good results. Today, we can definitely say that relations between the two countries have flourished since that meeting. They cover many aspects of state-to- state relations, including economic relations and trade, cooperation in military technology, and border issues. There is ample reason to believe that bilateral trade volume will vastly surpass the highest level of 1982, which was

$5.8 billion. Cooperation in military technology has also proceeded smoothly. Here, we would like to specifically emphasize that military cooperation between Russia and China is not directed at any third country. The Russian-Chinese border issue has been resolved without encountering more difficulties. Reductions in each other's border troops and confidence-building measures have also yielded results.

During his visit to Beijing, Kozyrev will mainly discuss relations between the two countries. During the visit he is expected to sign agreements on border checkpoints and consultations between the foreign ministers of the two countries. Certainly, the two sides will exchange views on major international and regional issues. Furthermore, the Russian delegation will acquaint itself with China's experience in building special economic zones. These zones have had a positive impact on China's economy. In short, Kozyrev's visit may score great successes.

## China Listed as High Priority in Foreign Policy

*LD2401142394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's historic, "breakthrough" trip to China has brought the two countries to more dynamic partnership on the international scene and in bilateral relations. China is a high-priority country in Russia's foreign policy, declared Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Aleksandr Panov in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday.

The deputy minister said the relationship between the two countries should be stripped of all "sensationalism, and should just be normal relations between normal neighbors, two superpowers" who are cooperating in the interests of each other, their region, and the whole world.

According to Panov, the fact that the new year is beginning with visits by United States President Bill Clinton to Moscow and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to China is symbolic. Although the delegations are in "different weight categories", they reinforce the balance which Russia is maintaining in its foreign policy, which is directed towards the east as much as it is towards the west.

Panov said that Kozyrev's official visit, which is scheduled to begin on January 26, will include discussion of preparations for a return visit to Moscow by Chinese Premier Jiang Zeming.

The potential for Russian-Chinese partnership is great, said Panov. In particular, Russia has not paid enough attention to China's experience in gradual economic reforms, especially in the formation of "special" free economic zones.

Talks on the two countries' border are currently being held. Panov called "groundless" the allegations sometimes made by indvidual Russian statesmen (especially in the Far East), to the effect that Russia is making one-sided, unjustifiable compromises under Chinese pressure. Whenever the two sides make concessions, they are reciprocal, "mutual" concessions.

As far as the military sphere is concerned, Russia and China are negotiating on the withdrawal of some armed forces from the border areas. But these withdrawals would not be of a "sharp or sensational nature, since it is more and more obvious that no military preparations are being made along the border, which is becoming a border of friendship", Panov explained.

The deputy foreign minister declared that Russian-Chinese trade is mutually profitable and does not infringe upon Russia's economic interests. This trade will be continually expanded, he said.

Panov appealed for more complete information on the two countries' relations to be made available to society. Kozyrev's january visit to Beijing is destined to play an important role in fulfilling this goal.

## PRC Denied Fishing Quotas in Okhotsk Sea

*OW2501040594 Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Radio Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Network in Russian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[From the "Kamchatka News" program]

[Text] The fishermen of Japan, South Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have received their fishing quotas for the central part of the Okhotsk Sea. However, Chinese representatives were denied these rights. The fact is that, last year, Chinese fishing vessels were often involved in poaching in the Russian Federation's economic zone which includes the territorial waters of Kamchatka. Justifiably, their crews were repeatedly detained by fishing protection vessels and coast guard ships.

## Dynamics of Trade With PRC Hurt Russia

*PM2101122194 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3*

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Vyacheslav Kuznetsov: "By Which Standard Should One Judge?..."]

[Text] China has always been our great neighbor, and much depends on how our relations with it develop. There is vast potential for multifaceted cooperation. As long as there is the desire on both sides. But is there? And just how profitable is it, for example, for us to trade with China today?

"The policy of liberalization in foreign economic relations is beginning to yield positive results. This is evidenced, in particular, by the development of Russian-Chinese trade," officials at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations say.

It is certainly true that the total volume of commodity turnover between Russia and China has increased. Russia had a surplus in 1992. But in reality things have turned out badly for the Russian recipient and consumer. By the end of 1992 the rate at which goods were ordered from and supplied by the Russian side under the terms of the relevant protocol had considerably outstripped the rate at which goods were supplied by the Chinese side. As a result, Russian suppliers have not received goods in exchange for their exports. Furthermore, in the light of Russian exporters' difficulties with the supply of complete sets of equipment, the Chinese side is holding back with regard to honoring its mutual commitments to despatch goods to the Russian Federation. In addition, the Chinese side has prevented the Russian side from honoring its commitments to supply equipment to the "Suizhong," "Jingxian," "Yimin," and "Yingkou" thermal power plants.

How should this be viewed?

The policy of liberalizing foreign economic activity has meant a rejection of the regulating role played by the center, which represented general state and national interests. As a result of the new policy, trade with China now mainly takes the form of border and regional commodity exchange, rather than being conducted on an intergovernmental basis (by protocol). The participants in this process are nonproduction cooperatives and enterprises, and also foreign economic associations at regional, city, and rayon level. The basis of this border and regional commodity exchange is barter (the exchange of goods for other goods). In 1992, the bulk of Russian supplies of trucks, tractors, combines, machine tools, and mining equipment, and also some power engineering and aviation equipment and spare parts, were implemented by enterprises on a barter basis. The supply of so-called "hard currency Russian goods"—fertilizers, metals, and commercial timber—is offset by consumer goods imported from the PRC, although these are often of poor quality.

This also cannot be counted as one of Russia's achievements in its trade with China.

In 1992 the proportion of decentralized trade in the Russian Federation's commodity turnover with the PRC increased from 59 percent to 90 percent in the space of one year. Moreover, the export of machinery and equipment fell from 35 percent in 1991 to 31 percent in 1992.

Liberalization in foreign trade has therefore had a negative impact with regard to utilizing production capacity in Russia's machine-building industry. Trade with the PRC has not given it any incentive to increase output.

Barter-driven border trade is gaining in scope. According to XINHUA, at the end of June 1993 barter deals between the province of Heilongjiang and Russia (and also other CIS republics) amounted to 1.51 billion Swiss francs, an increase of 83.3 percent in comparison to the same period in 1992. At the end of July 1992 China had a surplus in border trade with Russia.

Current trade relations with China are economically disadvantageous to Russia, because border and regional trade deals are unevenly balanced. Russian export prices are set too low, while Chinese import prices are set too high. In a number of cases Chinese companies have deliberately refused to buy timber, petroleum products, fertilizers, and metal products through interstate channels, instead obtaining them in significant quantities on a barter basis. It is quite obvious that China is pumping out Russia's raw material resources with the aid of border and regional trade.

Joint Russian-Chinese enterprises in our Far East are a component part of this "border pump." However, the creation of these enterprises is seen as an achievement in Russian-Chinese foreign economic relations! They are involved in the export of natural resources and unprocessed raw materials and in the services sector (the hotel business, in particular), according to experts from the semigovernmental Japan External Trade Organization.

But is this activity by joint enterprises in the Russian Federation's long-term interests as a whole? After all, we are losing irreplaceable natural resources and receiving in exchange foodstuffs and consumer goods which have no demand on the world market.

This kind of trade cannot be described as mutually advantageous. According to data for the first half of 1992, Beijing was able to improve its overall foreign trade balance as a direct result of supplying goods to Russia, by expanding its exports—which began to decline noticeably from January 1993.

What about Russian exports to the PRC? As a result of capital construction being scaled down in China, our rolled steel, machinery, and equipment are not in the demand they used to be.

According to data for October 1993, the value of unsold Russian goods has reached 1.3 billion yuan. Assessing the prospects for developing economic cooperation between our countries, many Chinese economists regard the Russian Far East primarily as a supplier of fuel and raw materials. Strange though it may seem, some representatives of Russian economic science share these sentiments.

Trade between the Russian Federation and the PRC is sometimes held back for technical reasons. In the first half of last year, for example, the plan for freight traffic between the two countries was only 62-67 percent implemented, mainly because of a shortage of cars and the low capacity of railroad sidings on PRC territory.

Meanwhile, it was planned to transport as much as 5 million tonnes of freight by rail from Russia to the PRC in 1993, whereas China was only supposed to dispatch 2.4 million tonnes.

The Russian side has volunteered to iron out transport bottlenecks by offering to build a passing track between the Chinese station of Manzhouli and Zabaykalsk, using its own resources. This was announced by Zabaykalsk Railway Chief A. Dovgello. Such generosity on the part of officials in the Russian railway department would be touching if they were paying for the work out of their own pockets. Especially as the transport system in rayons bordering on China leaves much to be desired.

It is extremely interesting that some tend to view the export of Chinese manpower as an achievement in our foreign economic relations. According to XINHUA, in the first half of 1993 the province of Heilongjiang alone sent 20,000 Chinese contract workers to Russia. To quote SIBIRSKAYA GAZETA, the citizens arriving in Maritime Kray from China today "can hardly be called the best examples of the Chinese nation."

For example, the services of some plant growers from China have had to be refused. More than 60 Chinese hired workers have been sent back to the PRC early from the "Leninskoye" Peasant Farmers' Association in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. When they arrived from the city of Tongjiang, the Chinese workers were contracted to grow tomatoes and cucumbers on land leased in the oblast. However, once they had planted out the seedlings, they left the ripening harvest to the mercy of fate and actively engaged in commercial activity. They obtained large consignments of Chinese goods from across the border and sold them at the local market.

The question of Chinese contract workers goes beyond pure economics. A political problem lies behind it. At the end of the sixties the PRC leadership officially made territorial claims against the USSR. In particular, they referred to lands in the Russian Far East. To this day the PRC Government has not retracted these claims. The question of "the lost territories" is hyped in various PRC publications, which is reflected in the mass social consciousness of the Chinese. According to Germany's DER SPIEGEL, the Chinese see their striving for the east of Russia as the continuation of a long tradition. Historian Huang Dingtian from the Heilongjiang Academy of Social Sciences claims that, 140 years ago, large areas of Siberia belonged to China, and the Chinese never forget history.

According to SIBIRSKAYA GAZETA, the reality is that twice as many Chinese as Russians live in Maritime Kray's Pogranichnyy [Border] Rayon. All these PRC citizens are living there illegally.

Our own Russian street traders (known in the jargon of today's new "businessmen" as "commuters") do not arouse any positive emotions in our neighbors. Every day, several thousand Russian buyers descend on northeast China. Once they have "stocked up," they hurry home. This is how Russians try to ensure their own personal prosperity on the road to a market economy!

Russian-Chinese foreign economic relations cannot be discussed in unequivocal terms. Nevertheless, while living for the present, we must not forget Russia's long-term economic and political interests.

## U.S. Urged To Assume 'Constructive' Stance on DPRK Issue

*SK2501012194 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Commentary by Vladimir Korolev from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] The United States is appealing to the DPRK to allow international inspections of its nuclear sites [haek taesang]. An official spokesman for the U.S. State Department has reportedly issued a statement making this appeal. Station commentator Vladimir Korolev writes on this:

What on earth is this story about? The United States is insisting that the DPRK should dissolve the suspicion of its nuclear weapons development by allowing international inspections. Pyongyang and Washington have held talks on the nuclear issue. They reached a principled agreement [wonchikchok habui] on the nuclear issue through the two rounds of talks.

Pyongyang is pointing out that the two military sites [kun taesang] of the DPRK cannot be included in the list of nuclear inspection targets.

Western countries still entertain the suspicion that nuclear weapons are being developed in some nuclear sites of the DPRK. The United States is persistently saying that it will not continue talks with the DPRK unless international inspections of some nuclear sites are conducted. In the third round of DPRK-U.S. talks, both sides' delegates should discuss improvement in relations between Washington and Pyongyang.

The U.S. State Department spokesman has reportedly warned that UN sanctions against the DPRK may follow.

A treaty on denuclearization of the Korean peninsula was likely to be signed at every occasion, but the plan for it always went wrong.

I think it is time to assume a more constructive [konsolchok] position in resolving the nuclear issue.

## Commentary on Reports of Submarine Sales to DPRK

*OW2501023894 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Commentary by Surikov from the "Current Event and Commentary" program]

[Text] Listeners: The Western mass media reported over the weekend that Russia is arming Korea [DPRK] and has sold 40 submarines to them. What is the true story? Here is a commentary by station commentator Surikov.

First of all, it should be noted that arms sales are now one of the major export items of many countries. Commercial arms supplies should not be a cause for surprise. Russia's submarine sales to Korea are nothing but scrap metal. The intermediary in this purely commercial deal is a Japanese company. The company's general manager (Shibata) told ITAR-TASS NEWS AGENCY: Last October Russia sold three submarines, which had long been decommissioned and scrapped, to Korea. The submarines carried no weapons whatsoever. Pyongyang cannot use them for training, much less for combat. The most reliable guarantee is that representatives from the Russian Navy directly oversaw professional Korean workers in breaking down the submarines into several parts. The Japanese company did not violate domestic laws banning indirect weapons and military technology sales to other countries.

Speaking at a press conference in Vladivostok, General Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, said: Russia has not supplied weapons to Pyongyang; nor does it plan to do so (?in the near future). Selling scrap metal to other countries is not a secret practice. Many scrapped and disarmed warships and submarines are berthed in some Russian ports. (Shibata) said: Korea aside, China and Japan are very interested in buying such scrap metal. This shows that reports by the Western mass media are only rumors that do not tally with the facts at all.

### Foreign Ministry To Delay Sending Note Over Kurils

*LD2401154694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 14[illegible] GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] As Interfax learned from well-informed sources, Russia's Foreign Ministry may send a note to Tokyo in connection with the recent violation of Russia's territorial waters in the area of the South Kurils by Japanese ships.

"To write and despatch a note will not take a long time, but we do not want to be hasty: the document should be impeccable from the point of view of the facts," a senior Foreign Ministry official told Interfax. "According to some information, 50 Japanese ships entered Russian territorial waters. This gives rise to the following question: Was it a "demonstration," and why were the ships driven out of our territorial waters, instead of being detained by Russian frontier guards?"

Russia has no intention of staging a confrontation, the diplomat pointed out. "That is why we want to obtain an objective and full picture of what happened," he said.

According to the official, the "incident" will undoubtedly be discussed, among other things, at the Russian-Japanese consultations to be held in Moscow in mid-February between the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Alexander Panov, and his Japanese counterpart, Hiroshi Fukuda. "It has been mutually agreed that the exact date of these consultations will be announced in Moscow and Tokyo on Tuesday, January 25," he noted.

### Signing of Nuclear Reprocessing Deal Pictured

*PM2501125794 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jan 94*

[By L. Varebrus and Ye. Chukovskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A contract under the intergovernmental agreement between the United States and the Russian Federation on the sale of highly enriched uranium was signed today at the Russian Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry.

[Varebrus over video of nuclear explosion and signing ceremony] Most people have probably seen a nuclear explosion, on television of course, but few will know that the decisions to start producing nuclear weapons—and who was to do it, at what plants, and what type of technology was to be used—were adopted in precisely these premises, in downtown Moscow, on Ordynka Street.

Now the people against whom these weapons were built, the Americans, are right here to sign an agreement to ensure that Russia's nuclear weapon potential is used for the benefit of our peaceful life. And these objects, even if they look a bit like missiles, are just pens which will be used in a few minutes to sign a Russian-U.S. contract on reprocessing weapons-grade uranium into fuel for nuclear power stations. Over a period of 20 years more than 20,000 nuclear charges totaling almost 500 tonnes of uranium are to be processed. The cost of the contract is $12 billion. If everything goes according to plan, the plant to be built under this contract in the United States will be using Russian technology and Russian raw material. [video shows signing ceremony, yellow powder on a hand, warehouse full of drums, production line.] [passage omitted]

### All Parties Seen as Winners Under Tripartite Agreement

*PM2401200594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 3*

[Interview with Atomic Energy Minister V. Mikhaylov by Vladimir Gubarev; place and date not given: "Enthusiastic Uranium Deals. Clinton Has 'Donated' $12 Billion to Russia"]

[Text] The Moscow meeting between the presidents of the United States, Russia, and Ukraine has prompted a number of rumors. In Kiev Kravchuk's opponents are

claiming that Russia "did well out of the uranium deal" whereas the Ukrainian president was "sold short." Some people in the United States are saying that Clinton "gave away" $12 billion to Russia—this is the amount it is proposed to pay for uranium destined for U.S. nuclear electric power stations, which will be obtained from our nuclear warheads. Finally, "joyous" hopes have arisen in the Russian Government: The word there is that U.S. dollars will now come flooding into our country....

I was keen to ask the following questions in an interview with Russian Atomic Energy Minister V. Mikhaylov:

[Gubarev] How did Ukraine lose out by this deal?

[Mikhaylov] The level of Ukraine's security has increased—so in fact Ukraine has benefited. Some of the reprocessed uranium from the nuclear weapons will go back to Ukraine in the form of fuel rods for the reactors of nuclear power stations. You must bear in mind that an extremely critical situation has developed in Ukraine regarding weapons and their storage and servicing. The weapons which have been delivered to us are very dangerous—scheduled maintenance has not been carried out, nor have they been serviced. I will not beat about the bush, I am very worried by the weapons situation there—you simply cannot play around with nuclear warheads! It must be clearly understood: Ukraine cannot be a nuclear power—neither the technical nor any other conditions exist there. Moreover, if Russia were not a nuclear power, in present conditions we too would be unable to build weapons or to service them at the appropriate level.... Quite honestly, I do not understand how people can play political games with nuclear weapons. I am convinced that the agreement signed in Moscow has saved Ukraine from new "Chernobyls."

[Gubarev] What have the Americans gained?

[Mikhaylov] They have made several billion dollars on this contract. Basically, U.S. uranium-235 enrichment plants are defective. Compared with our plants, they are obsolete and the technology is substandard. Their enrichment plants are about 20 times less efficient than ours in terms of electricity consumption. Therefore the Americans are closing down their enterprises and our fuel is going to their nuclear electric power stations. Incidentally, there are approximately 100 reactor units in the United States. The government is basically a "middleman" now, it is reselling our fuel for nuclear electric power stations. I think it will make about $3 billion on this contract.

[Gubarev] What about Russia?

[Mikhaylov] The contract benefits us. But not in the financial sense. First, the process of dismantling weapons is very expensive—according to expert estimates, it works out at $30,000-100,000. The arithmetic is simple, and therefore you can see that "fat profits" will not be coming our way.... But for me the important thing lies elsewhere: This contract enables us to maintain Russia's nuclear industry, retain our cadres, and keep our scientific centers. In addition, the world will become a safer place: There are currently too many weapons at nuclear storage facilities. I am telling you this in all seriousness, since all my life I have been involved in developing nuclear weapons.... But I would like to reassure our fellow citizens: There is quite enough uranium in Russia to fully ensure supply to our nuclear power industry and weapons complex for many decades to come.

## General Maslin Warns of Nuclear Storage in Ukraine

*OW2501055694 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0640 GMT 20 Jan 94*

[VoyenTV "Bearing South" video report; from the "Military Review" program]

[Text] Now a few words about one of the most important military-political events of the week. Russia and Ukraine, not without some help from the U.S. President, have finally managed to agree on the future of Ukraine's nuclear potential.

At the meeting of three presidents—the Presidents of Russia, the United States, and Ukraine—Leonid Kravchuk confirmed Ukraine would join the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as soon as possible as a state without nuclear weapons. [video carries montage of shots showing troops handling weapons components; the "VoyenTV," Ministry of Defense Television Studio logo is shown at top right of screen] It is presumed the first 200 nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia within 10 months. Altogether about 2,000 nuclear weapons must be dismantled in Ukraine.

[Begin Maslin recording] In their statement the presidents emphasized the importance of ensuring the security and reliability of nuclear weapons until they are dismantled. At the same time, the state of affairs regarding nuclear safety on the territory of Ukraine continues to worsen. Storage depots are packed beyond standard limits with warheads and nuclear munitions that have been removed from service.

This is intolerable and besides everything else, it has brought about a considerable increase in radiation levels. This has been confirmed by chief designers from Arzamas-16 who visited Pervomaysk on Ukrainian territory in September last year. The warranty periods of most component parts have expired. [end recording]

The signed agreement promises that nuclear weapons, which are dangerous not only when used but also when improperly stored, will stop being used as bargaining chips in political games.

## Kozyrev Adds to Baltics' 'Anti-Russian Mood'

*PM2401135194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 94 First Edition p 4*

[Feature comprising Vilnius report by Nikolay Lashkevich and a report by Leonid Mlechin: "Lithuania Takes Fright and Changes Foreign Policy Orientation; But This Is Not the Way to Help the Russian Minority"]

[Excerpts] [Lashkevich] Lithuania was frightened by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's tough statement about vitally important Russian interests in the CIS and Baltic countries. Its anxiety was not allayed even by the minister's reassuring interview on Ostankino TV.

The right is triumphant: Didn't we warn you about Russia's true face? The papers are filled with near-panic headlines and politicians are trading claims about "Russian imperialism" and "Russian expansionism." An official Lithuanian Foreign Ministry statement expressed Lithuania's rejection of the "near neighbours" concept and concern at what it regards as unwarranted accusations of violations of human rights and of the rights of ethnic minorities in the Baltic countries (what has Lithuania done?) and Russia's reluctance to abandon the practice of exerting military pressure on these countries. [passage omitted]

The anti-Russian mood has increased with the adoption of a steely tone by Moscow diplomats concerned about the future of the Russian-speaking population. Unfortunately, often it is the local Russians who come off worst because Moscow only mentions them when addressing lofty diplomatic matters.

[Mlechin report] The most unfortunate thing for Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is not the fact that his speech at the conference of ambassadors in the republics of the former USSR was not interpreted in the way he would have liked. It is the fact that no one actually doubted that the Russian minister was now capable of threatening neighboring states. Two years or even one year ago diplomats would have decided that there had been some kind of mistake and would have sought clarification. But this time they believed it.

The political complexion of the Baltic politicians is well known: Most of them are their own people, who have no love for Russia and expect nothing good to come out of it. At the same time they dream of getting rid of the hundreds of thousands of Russians who have ended up in the Baltic area in one way or another since 1940. They are just waiting for an excuse to shout: "Save us from Moscow!"

If the new tough-talking approach by Russian diplomacy is a calculated step, how does Russia benefit? Does it frighten the Baltic countries? That is not difficult. But why try to frighten them? In the hope of making them more amenable? Of changing the policy vis-a-vis the Russian minority? Of keeping Russian forces and bases on their territory? Of making them abandon the idea of joining NATO?

It is easier to achieve the opposite. "If Kozyrev is switching to a policy of threats, then the only salvation from that kind of Russia is behind NATO bayonets"—that was the conclusion in Riga, Vilnius, and Tallinn, and possibly in other capitals as well.

How will this conclusion affect the position of Russians in the Baltic republics? Any indiscreet word by Moscow is interpreted as a direct threat, and hostility toward the Russian minority increases.

Andrey Kozyrev was better placed than anyone else to foresee this reaction. Once former Vice President Rutskoy and other state-control dinosaurs [supergosudarstvenniki] were calling for strong pressure to be brought to bear on those republics where the Russian minority does not feel comfortable. At the time Kozyrev said: The position of the Russian minority can only be improved by getting on with the states in which Russians live. You will not improve their lives by threats and force, let alone military force. Russians in the Baltic countries can do without being feared and hated.

Has Minister Kozyrev changed his tune? Why? Has the reality of diplomatic practice scuttled his idealism?

Or is the minister caught up in domestic political games now that he is a deputy as well? I asked the minister whether he himself felt that he was gravitating more toward domestic politics? The minister totally rejected this suggestion. But there is already talk of "early Kozyrev" and "late Kozyrev," with less and less in common between them. Even the minister's vocabulary has changed, and he now insists that he was the first to say that all the neighboring foreign countries are a sphere of Russian interests. Of course, on the one hand, only inveterate dogmatists never change. On the other hand, U-turns in politics are called a change of course.

If Minister Kozyrev thinks that in this way he will be able to satisfy those who have not acknowledged the disintegration of the USSR and the transformation of the union republics into autonomous states, he is profoundly mistaken. As far as those forces and parties are concerned, he has still betrayed national interests.

The point is not that, by abandoning the "early Kozyrev" principle, the minister risks losing the sympathies of those who have always supported him. Presidential support is sufficient for the minister to keep his post. The problem is that the Baltic countries and East and Central Europe are becoming a zone of anti-Russian activity. And it is the task of diplomats not to cause friction between the country and its neighbors, but to make them friends. The "early Kozyrev" managed this.

## New Commander of 201st Division in Tajikistan Named

*LD2101145094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1407 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[By Vladimir Gondusov, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 January—Colonel Yuriy Naumov has been appointed new commander of the 201st Russian Motorized Rifle Division stationed in Tajikistan. Before moving to Dushanbe he served as deputy commander of a formation of airborne forces.

Colonel Viktor Timofeyev, who was the 201st Division's commander before him, has been relieved of this post "in connection with operational requirements," the infantry press center reported today.

## Bilateral Relations Discussed With Uzbek Delegation

*LD2101154994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1432 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Russian and Uzbek delegations held a working meeting at the Russian Foreign Ministry on Friday to discuss bilateral relations, the situation of ethnic Russians in Uzbekistan and some regional problems.

The Russian delegation was headed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and the Uzbek delegation, led by Uzbek Parliament Acting Chairman Erkin Khalilov, included Kozyrev's counterpart Saidmukhtar Said Asymov.

Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the upper chamber of the Russian Parliament, took part in the talks, which were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. "We met as real friends, partners and close neighbours. Our relations are notable for a full mutual understanding and close interaction", Kozyrev said.

Khalilov seconded this view by saying the two delegations should not sit on two opposing sides of the table but at a round table with no division between them.

In the course of the talks, a decision was reached to establish a mixed group of Russian and Uzbek experts to draft legislative proposals on citizenship.

Kozyrev's political advisor Galina Sidorova told ITAR-TASS the negotiations were business-like and its results will lead to a practical settlement of problems and mutually acceptable decisions.

## Zhirinovskiy To Visit Belgrade Before Poland

*AU2501105794 Paris AFP in English 1043 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 25 (AFP)—Russian ultranationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has delayed his trip here this week by three days in order to visit Belgrade, Janucz Bryczowski, the Polish industrialist who invited Zhirinovskiy said Tuesday [25 January].

Bryczowski, who heads the National Self-Defense front, a small extremist party, said that instead of arriving Thursday, Zhirinovskiy would be in Poland on Sunday.

He said Zhirinovskiy told him by telephone Monday evening that he was concerned for his security while in Poland.

Polish interior ministry spokesman Piotr Szczypinski said Polish authorities could not guarantee the safety of private citizens visiting the country and that there had not been any contact with Moscow officials concerning security arrangements for the trip.

"Poland is a country where foreign nationals are safe," he said.

Walesa told reporters Monday that he had no intention of meeting with Zhirinovskiy. None of the political leaders here have expressed any interest in seeing him either.

The center-left opposition Democratic Union meanwhile announced that it would hold a demonstration in Krakow, along the road leading to Auschwitz, to protest the visit.

According to Bryczowski, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, is planning meetings with important politicians and press conferences during his stay. He will also make trips to Krakow, in the south, and the Auschwitz death camp and spend some time relaxing in the ski resort of Zakopane in the Tatra mountains.

## Zhirinovskiy Phenomenon Seen Affecting Germans' Outlook

*PM2401130194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 94 p 3*

[Vadim Markushin article: "Who Is Inflaming the German Imagination?"]

[Text] Among recent events, those which alarmed the German public most of all were undoubtedly December's floods in Germany and the results of the parliamentary elections in Russia.

In the first case the reason was clear. Losses occasioned by the caprices of the weather have added, in a completely unexpected way, to the enormous material costs connected with the unification of the country. Once again the state coffers are bare; German citizens have

never understood the treasury as something abstract; for them it is closely bound up with their own pocketbooks.

The second issue is far more complex. Germany is probably the only country in which the announcement of a victory for the "right-wing persuasion" in Russia could electrify the political atmosphere so completely. This topic has immediately come to the fore, opening up clear and—we must suppose—long-term work prospects for the multitude of experts on Russia. What is most staggering for the Germans is the appearance in the Russian political lexicon of the word "fascism," which used to be a dirty word for Russians.

Without considering the extent to which voters who cast their votes for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] were genuinely linking that party with the possibility of fascism's coming to power in Russia, or whether they are pursuing this policy deliberately, certain circles in Germany are blatantly inflaming the German imagination. Moreover, their efforts are to a certain extent being helped along by some of the LDPR leader's statements and his behavior.

Some people, for example, are already calling for the Western Group of Forces to be scrutinized more carefully. They are saying that the forces are a small piece of Russia, and that piece of Russia also contains Zhirinovskiy supporters. Are they not likely to make contact with German extremists and thus contribute to the cause of uniting Europe's right-wing radicals? These fears are not emerging just anywhere, but in the Saxony Land Department for the Protection of the Constitution. Department head Frau M. Keller said as much to a staffer from the Western Group of Forces Press Center: "The department is checking to see whether German right-wing radicals have any contacts with LDPR supporters in the Western Group of Forces."

It seems that those who support unrelenting efforts in the military sphere will not miss this opportunity to exploit the situation and draw more attention to the Bundeswehr. The newspapers have instituted a trend of cursing the government for its "lack of concern" in the defense sphere. In the opinion of P. Wuerzbach, former under secretary of state at the Ministry of Defense, the federal chancellor "is doing absolutely nothing to resolve the financial problems facing the Bundeswehr" and he "should say once and for all what he can offer the armed forces."

There is another curious point which may also be connected with events in Russia. One in three German citizens sees "nothing bad" about foreign troops being stationed in his country. This is the conclusion reached by specialists who consistently poll people on the issue. They claim that the number of Germans who support the preservation of a foreign military presence in the FRG is growing. The researchers attribute this phenomenon not only to the traditional unwillingness of inhabitants of specific regions to countenance the material costs that would inevitably arise from the loss of an additional reserve of jobs and stable consumers in the form of foreign servicemen. It also has behind it the "NATOization" of the consciousness of a population which has grown accustomed to linking its own security with the strength of the Atlantic alliance, and which particularly reflects on that strength at times when there are indications of a threat.

## Political Affairs

### Yeltsin May Offer Fedorov Post of Economic Adviser

*LD2501111994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—A meeting of the Russian president and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, who refused to work in the new government, is expected to take place on Wednesday morning and Fedorov may be offered to become the economic adviser of the president, TASS learned from well-informed sources in the presidential administration on Tuesday.

According to the sources, the post of the economic adviser may be instituted in the near future and it is not ruled out that Boris Yeltsin may offer it to Fedorov. The post envisages work in the government as an expert or an observer.

The necessity of introducing the post and possible candidates to fill it in may also be discussed at the planned meeting, the source said.

However, it is also possible that Yeltsin would prefer to keep Fedorov in the State Duma where the reformer can work on anti-inflation decisions. As a presidential aide, Fedorov will have to give up his parliamentary mandate.

### Chernomyrdin Denies Discussing Cabinet With Yeltsin

*LD2401190994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin has said to INTERFAX that the main topic of his meeting with Boris Yeltsin today was the budget for the fourth quarter of this year. Chernomyrdin arrived in Orel to take part in a meeting of oblast leaders from Central Russia. He said that he and Yeltsin did not talk about the new cabinet.

Speaking about the candidacy of Boris Fedorov for the post of finance minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that he had spoken to him about it on both Sunday [23 Janaury] and Monday. During these conversations he asked Fedorov to finally decide whether he was going to join the government or not.

### Views Gaydar Departure, Fedorov Resignation

*LD2401232394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1836 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin before his departure for Orel by correspondent Natalya Chernyshova at Moscow Airport on 24 January; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Chernyshova] [passage indistinct] Yegor Gaydar's departure and Boris Fedorov's ongoing resignation have caused a wave of criticism aimed at the prime minister. The majority of journalists give the most pessimistic forecasts, while newspapers are full of rhetoric questions to Viktor Chernomyrdin. Today, a group of correspondents managed to ask the prime minister these questions personally before he left for Orel.

Viktor Stepanovich, what is your view of the fact that virtually all the media are predicting that the new government you have formed will fail?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, of course I am surprised by this. It seems to be part of your nature or something. We have not even started, but we are being buried before we are born. My view of this attitude is skeptical. Once again I am simply astonished. This talk is not inspiring, it is not about how work should be done or what should be done but, instead, it is a call to destroy everything outright. I do not accept this. It is not a very constructive start if someone believes that it is a start. We are starting the new year of 1994, which is quite difficult and complex. We will discuss the initial difficulties in Orel now, I believe. We are getting ready for a major meeting of the Council of Ministers attended by all the regional leaders, which is a very serious thing. For the first time in our country, a presidential message is being prepared—we are preparing the economic part and I am preparing all the other areas. So I do not see here...[sentence incomplete as received]

[Chernyshova] Viktor Stepanovich, in connection with this, do you have differences with the president or do you fully share each other's positions or programs as before?

[Chernomyrdin] This is the second question. This has been especially noticeable in the media of late, which, openly or by hints, imply that we have some kind of differences on many things, from candidates [for posts], to other matters. This is not the case! We did not and do not have any differences, and I believe that we will not have them. I am not shifting my problems onto the president, this is not my style, I have never done that and will never do. But I must say that, as always, the president was aware of the principal guidelines, as he should be. Regarding fundamental approaches, we agree them, we discuss, examine, and determine all of them a good deal—this was and is the case and, I think, will be for as long as we work together.

[Chernyshova] Did you see the president today?

[Chernomyrdin] I did, I met him today. Incidentally, today, that is, yesterday, as a matter of fact, we completed the budget for the first quarter and today I showed it to the president, and we discussed all the approaches to the budget for the first quarter once again.

[Chernyshova] Viktor Stepanovich, everybody is trying to guess the program you are going to use, in addition to the monetarist program. There have been many assumptions.

[Chernomyrdin, laughing] This, too, is from the realm of improvization, to say that Chernomyrdin is giving up monetarist approaches as of the New Year. I have not retreated in anything. Our policy is truly tough. Incidentally, in no way will this tough policy be slackened and nobody should count on this. But today we should produce, today we should say that there has been enough of spreading things around, today we should gather things together. We have completely neglected agreements between the government and trade unions, producers in relation to fixing prices for production equipment, or fixing wages for a certain period.

This is very important. This is not a monetarist approach. There are many methods and ways today that should promote improvement. Interestingly, about debts, this is very interesting too, we will pay them back, we will pay them back. First of all, we should repay what we have taken. Strange people, indeed! We eat, we have taken bread and butter, but when it comes to repaying the debts an argument starts suddenly as to whether we should repay them or not. They must be repaid! What the government has taken for state orders, for federal needs from farmers, agrarians, must be repaid. And not only this, but all this should be done in a sensible way, within reasonable limits. This mechanism, this correlation should be maintained but within reasonable limits, since both things are bad, we are blamed for both things. Injections and subsidies lead to an explosion. This will not happen. At the same time, we cannot refrain from giving, for we will bring everything to a halt, something even worse, and an even greater outburst will follow.

The program adopted on 6 August was adopted by the government under the president's leadership, it was approved. It was adopted at a Council of Ministers meeting with a large number of participants and attended by all regional leaders. It was developed collectively. Nobody changed it, and Gaydar's arrival in September did not signify any alteration to this program at all. He accepted it because he agreed with it. What Russia's Choice offered in its election campaign was the precisely the government's program. So what are we talking about? Gaydar did not add anything, we all worked as one, I can say it straight, and he cannot deny this. So why this panic? What has happened? Why is everybody going mad? Do not worry, we did not retreat and we will not. We did not indulge and we will not. Everything will be calculated and geared only toward the plan and the programs that have been determined. Will there be alterations? Naturally, there will be, it is impossible otherwise. Thank God, we do not have such [programs] today that can be adopted for five years and that is that. We have had enough of five-year plans!

[Chernyshova] Viktor Stepanovich, here is my last question. Stanislav Shushkevich told me in an interview that he expected to see you in Belarus late this month. Have your plans changed?

[Chernomyrdin] They have, but only in the sense that there is not enough time, and we have not done everything yet in order to sign documents with Belarus. This visit will take place by all means. We are preparing for it, and the ballyhoo that has been raised partly in Belarus around our relations, between Russia and Belarus, is absolutely out of place. It is harmful, in my view. Some people wish to divide us even further but this will not happen. We will do everything possible, both with Belarus, Kazakhstan, and others. A document on creating an economic union has been signed. We are not retreating from anything! What kind of people are we? Why is it that every possibility is being used to accuse us of doing one thing while forgetting another? Nothing has been done at the expense of Russia or the Russians ever, the same way as we do not reckon to live at the expense of the Belarusians, Kazakhs, Ukrainians. This was never the case, it is not, and will not be! I care least of all today about the political coloring. I care about practical deeds and results today, the way we live and are going to live.

Therefore, I will listen to people, I will consult with them, and I will accept proposals from anyone who wishes to do good for Russia and Russians. And I would like to say again: Some people just cannot help croaking—everything will now be squandered, trouble is coming! No way! We will not get far with complaining and whining!

[Chernyshova] Thank you.

[Chernomyrdin] Thank you.

### Shcherbakov, Dubinin Tipped as Fedorov Successor

*MK2501122094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 1*

[Ivan Zasurskiy report under the "Details" rubric: "Government's Personnel Problems. Dubinin and Shcherbakov Tipped To Head Finance Ministry"]

[Text] Yesterday, the president and the prime minister held the final meeting on forming a new government. Small wonder that the last, decisive seat in the Cabinet of Ministers—the post of finance minister, which Boris Fedorov has reserved for himself for the period in which a financial report for 1993 will be written—remains effectively vacant.

One may hold any opinion about Fedorov. Drawing on recent reports you may keep dispelling as long as you wish the myth about trends that prompted the former minister to do what he has been doing. What may appear to be the finance minister's overly spectacular line of conduct, however, has transformed the post of finance minister from a work place into a crown of thorns of a great reformist martyr. If this trend is to be followed, finding a replacement for Boris Fedorov will be fairly easy. The more so because the Fedorov-style activity (refusals to pay money according to the government's own estimates, delays in paying wages, depositing money

in commercial banks) will hardly be possible if the would-be finance minister lacks a deputy prime minister's title.

Hence, both owing to the demotion and the postponed budget deficit (government debts to the agro-industrial and the military-industrial sectors), the minister's seat will no longer be a pedestal for a charismatic figure. The important, influential (and credit-disbursing) post of finance minister can only be occupied by a person from Viktor Chernomyrdin's team. Moreover, the candidacy will have to be approved by Viktor Gerashchenko. The West's opinion, which was not heeded when forming the bulk of the cabinet, is no longer decisive for a whole number of reasons.

At present, two candidates are being publicly broken in: from among Boris Fedorov's deputies, the Central Bank-backed Sergey Dubinin (albeit "smeared" by the GAZ scandal, which Boris Nemtsov would not let die out), has been nominated for promotion, and at the same time a rumor has been spread about former Deputy Council of Ministers Chairman Vladimir Shcherbakov's possible appointment to the post. As for the latter, it can be said that he, like many other former government officials, has not squandered a certain clout he wielded at the Council of Ministers; meanwhile, following his dismissal he set up the "Interprivatizatsiya" fund, through which billion-dollar foreign investments are being attracted to the former USSR. On New Year's eve, television viewers could watch his address as chief of a large investment fund. This candidacy is preferable in terms of publicity than is Dubinin's, to say nothing of the fact that it may be the most "market-oriented" one compared to all other options—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA readers could see that point: in an article entitled "Management, Technology, Money: Only in This Sequence Will We Be Able To Integrate Ourselves in the World Economy" (No. 105 of 8 June 1993) we wrote about his views on the domestic investment climate and the transformation of Russian enterprises' management. What is unclear is another thing—whether Shcherbakov, a successful businessman, will want to return to government service.

The new finance minister will have to untangle a web of "Fedorov's contradictions' and to bear responsibility for rising inflation, for which those who had created a semblance of "monetarism" by postponing the budget deficit are also to blame, at least in part. The pro-radicalist press campaign of active opposition to Fedorov's successor was just as inevitable and ineluctable as strikes and credit commission meetings. Furthermore, although for a person of purely state interests a ministerial post means a realistic opportunity to influence decisionmaking on specific matters, the assumption of this responsibility can scarcely open up bright prospects for the office holder; filling the last vacancy in the cabinet (discounting Panfilova's seat) is turning into one of the most serious personnel problems.

## Shcherbakov Pledges Not To Return to Politics

*LD2501154294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1431 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] President of the Interprivatization Fund Vladimir Shcherbakov has denied media reports alleging that he is one of the candidates to the post of Russian Finance Minister.

"I have nothing to do with the current publicity over my name. Any information about my claims for the post is false," he said in a statement to Interfax on Tuesday.

Shcherbakov said his plans did not provide for a political comeback. "For the past two and a half years," he said, "I have been trying to distance myself from any political or public activity and any contacts with parties or movements."

Nor did he accept proposals from various alliances to join them or stand as their candidate in general elections.

"This does not mean I do not care for Russia's interests," Shcherbakov said, pledging commitment to the country's cause.

He says his job with the Fund, which is among Russia's leading investment companies, is no less useful than his previous government post. He spoke of being quite satisfied with his social standing and having no ambitions to return to politics.

However, he accused some mass media of grossly misinterpreting his meeting with government officials, including a recent meeting with Boris Fedorov.

"We have known each other for a number of years. That is why I thought it possible to try to persuade him to lift some of his demands which are clearly unacceptable both to the President and Prime Minister," Shcherbakov said. He spoke of undue agitation being caused by the minister's demands and of having tried to persuade Fedorov to remain as Finance Minister.

However, he went along with Fedorov's demand to be given the job of First Deputy Prime Minister as well. This will help raise his responsibility for the country's finances and budget and vest him with appropriate powers without which the concept of personal responsibility is hollow, Shcherbakov said. "My view on this does not depend on who exactly will take up the post," he said.

In conclusion, Shcherbakov appealed to the public not to try to make his name the subject of political controversy, pledging all possible help to the government, but on a voluntary basis.

## Cited on Fedorov, Ministerial Post

*LD2401200894*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1725 GMT on 24 January carries an edition of the "Details" program. The program's

announcer, Nikolay Svanidze, addresses two main issues relating to the government reshuffle: Will an additional first deputy prime minister be appointed alongside Oleg Soskovets? Who will be appointed to the key post of finance minister? In the studio with Svanidze is one of the main candidates for the post of finance minister, Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, chairman of the Council of Directors and president of the Interprivatizatsiya Foundation.

When asked by Svanidze about a possible nomination as finance minister, Shcherbakov says, "I hope I am not appearing here as a candidate for the ministerial post. That is of little interest to me. Speaking seriously about the finance minister post, it is no accident that the name Valentin Pavlov is mentioned. What is needed today is a man who can say yes or no pretty firmly, and who can stick with it. I had a fairly lengthy talk today with Boris Fedorov. My point of view is this: He should stay in his post, that was what we were talking about."

Svanidze then asks Shcherbakov if he has persuaded Fedorov to stay on. "Well, yes, that was chiefly what we were talking about," says Shcherbakov.

On the unification of Belarus and Russian currencies, Shcherbakov says that the accord signed was more of a strategic pointer than a practical document to be implemented urgently. The accord was drawn up by the Central Bank, which is legally responsible for regulating currency circulation, though it was previously not the case, Shcherbakov says, for one government department to draw up such accords. Asked whether the finance ministry was bypassed on the decision, Shcherbakov says he cannot comment on the situation, which he regards as "the internal affair of the government".

Regarding inflation, Shcherbakov makes the proviso that "I would not wish my words to be taken as being any claim to becoming the finance minister," and says that he agrees with Chernomyrdin. "Chernomyrdin was right when he said that monetarist methods must be augmented by an arsenal of other methods. I believe that is the right way to put it. First and foremost, legislative measures: We must curb inflation using legislative methods, and by further improving the laws governing economic activity. Second, organizational measures: namely, for instance, the transport infrastructure does not work; the payment infrastructure does not work. We have simply stopped payments, but not for economic reasons, rather for political and organizational reasons." Shcherbakov concludes that he is profoundly convinced that "inflation is engendered by the non-market structure of our economy."

### Shokhin Views New Appointments in Government

*LD2401202594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] By order of Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Economics Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, as a member of the government's presidium, is temporarily in charge of the ministry for cooperation with the CIS states, Shokhin himself told journalists on Monday.

According to Shokhin, "Vladimir Mashitz will be responsible for the economic affairs in the ministry." As for Konstantin Zatulin, a member of the PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] faction in the State Duma, of which Shokhin is a member) [no open parentheses as received], he is the head of the Duma's Committee for CIS Affairs and Ties with Compatriots. Shokhin has no information about the nomination of Zatulin as the minister for cooperation with the CIS states.

As it was reported earlier, Shokhin was also appointed the Economics Minister.

Shokhin hopes that the Economics Ministry will have "real authorities, although this does not mean the revival of GOSPLAN (the State Planning Committee)." Shokhin also expressed hope for the real interaction with the Finance Ministry reminding that in the past the two ministries had different approaches to the resolution of economic problems and public discussions took place which the new economics minister hopes to avoid in the future.

### Notes Need for Economic Stabilization

*MK2501131094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 2*

[Dmitriy Volkov, Yelena Kolokoltseva report under the "Ministers" rubric: "Aleksandr Shokhin Intends To Sum Up Abalkin and Petrakov. Ministry of the Economy Will Once Again Try To Elaborate Selective Structural Policy"]

[Text] Economy Minister Aleksandr Shokhin stated in a news conference yesterday that his department intends to "sum up suggestions on correcting the reforms" that had been hammered out in particular by the working group under First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets; by academicians Abalkin and Petrakov; by Lvov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; by Academician Shatalin's "Reforma" fund, and so forth. Mr. Shokhin hopes to sum up these programs by early February, when the ministry's collegium session is planned. Besides, he is hoping that the "designers of formulas for Russia's salvation," for example, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, "will not hide their ideas until the moment they are asked to form their government."

Russia's new economy minister, the fifth in two years, stated the need to "combine the line toward macroeconomic stabilization with measures in the field of microeconomy." Mr. Shokhin explained his perception of the premier's comments about the use alongside with "monetarist" measures of "nonmonetarist" measures in controlling the economy. "It is necessary to fill with concrete contents the selective structural policy," he declared. According to the economy minister, the effectiveness of granting preferential credits last year was extremely low, and it is now necessary to design a mechanism to issue them on a selective basis. Besides, the state should pay up the debts to the national industry and agriculture—"even if to minimize the sum, we should pay in the first

quarter at least 3 trillion rubles under our obligations of last year's fourth quarter. This is the most conservative estimate of what we cannot afford not to do," he said, adding that all this "does not contradict the financial policy guidelines."

Aleksandr Shokhin rejected the explanation given by Yegor Gaydar for his resignation (Mr. Gaydar referred to the government decisions in January that ran counter to the policy of financial stabilization). "Inflation in January will be immeasurably greater than in December," but, like the growth of the budget deficit, this "is predetermined by the last months of the past year," Mr. Shokhin stated. He explained the desire of a number of politicians to "leave the government" by political expediency. As for the present composition of the cabinet, Mr. Shokhin thought that the composition of the government would not have undergone appreciable changes compared with that of the start of September had Boris Fedorov stayed in the position of finance minister. "Now is a rather hard time for carrying out reforms, but I did not cash in on the opportune moment to leave the government because all the horsepower in here is necessary now," he said.

In the meantime, according to Mr. Shokhin, certain political forces are doing "all to discredit the prime minister, equating his actions with a creeping counter-revolution" so as "to try and organize in April-May an all-Russia strike and take power."

Touching on the problem of Russia's relations with international financial organizations, Aleksandr Shokhin pointed out in particular that "he would not now speak about who precisely will conduct talks with G-7, the Paris and London creditor's clubs, as well as with the IMF and the World Bank." At the same time, the new economy minister stated that he would insist on jointly resolving all questions pertaining to relations with international financial organizations, and that he thought it necessary to preserve the commission for cooperation with international financial organizations.

Answering journalists' questions about the chances of a second line of the system of credit from the IMF for Russia, and the granting of standby credit in 1994, the Russian IMF director doubted if "Russia would be able in the near future to meet the standard set of criteria brought by the Fund's board in deciding on granting it." The economy minister, however, believes it necessary to continue the talks with IMF representatives on these problems. "This is useful at least because thus we can see the situation in Russia's real economy," he stated.

During yesterday's press conference, Mr. Shokhin was extremely cautious about chances for the merging of the monetary systems of Russia and Belarus, saying that such a decision should be preceded by finding a compromise on a closer union of the two countries' economic policies. Mr. Shokhin intimated that he would be in charge of Russia's relations with the CIS subject to approval by the premier.

## Denies Change in Economic Policy

*LD2401205094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1723 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] There are no reasons to assume that the Russian government has changed its economic policy, said Economics Minister Aleksandr Shokhin.

The recent changes in the government's composition were minor compared to those made last September, Shokhin, who recently replaced Yegor Gaydar as economics minister, told a news conference in Moscow on Monday.

But he said certain amendments would nevertheless be made to the economic policy on the basis of recommendations by economists and politicians. He expressed readiness to cooperate with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc. He said use would also be made of work done by a team led by Academicians Leonid Abalkin and Nikolay Petrakov and a team led by Academician Stanislav Shatalin.

As for Boris Fedorov, it was still unclear whether he would remain in the government, Shokhin said. He said President Boris Yeltsin on Monday did not accept Fedorov's resignation.

The main economic problem facing the government today is "combining the line towards macroeconomic stabilization with a more careful microeconomic policy," Shokhin said. "That is what Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin had in mind when he spoke about non- monetarist measures," he said. In particular, selective financing of economic sectors and tight control of taxation had to be introduced, with "budgetary revenues drastically increased by administrative methods." None of those measures contradicted the former financial policy, Shokhin said.

He said the government should not be seen as consisting of "conservatives" and "reformers" and condemned "the campaign against the Chernomyrdin government, which is run by Mikhail Poltoranin," and is a "serious political game" aimed at "organizing a nationwide political strike in April or May, overthrowing the government and taking power."

## Accuses Gaydar of Avoiding Responsibility

*LD2401201494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1723 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Inflation will be much higher than in December, Russian Economics Minister Aleksandr Shokhin estimated. He believes this will be due to the government's economic policy in November-December 1993, including decisions on subsidies to miners, increase in wages for state sector employees and others made with the participation of Gaydar.

"To tell the truth, he (Gaydar - IF) should have resigned in November or December when the decisions' adoption failed to be prevented," Shokhin told a press conference in Moscow on Monday.

He repeated that it would be necessary to repay not less than 3 Bn rubles in the 1st quarter of this year to cover the debts of the 4th quarter of 1993. However, in his words, the total sum of debts is 2.5 times bigger.

According to Shokhin, this means that Gaydar and other members of the government have "decided to avoid responsibility for the consequences of their policy."

Moreover, according to the new economics minister, unemployment may increase this year. Now the official number of unemployed is about 1 million and the hidden one is about 5 million. These 5 million may become a part of the official rate of unemployment, he emphasized.

## Gaydar Views Economic Problems, Resignation

*AU2401172094 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 24 Jan 94 pp 115-116*

[Interview with former Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by DER SPIEGEL; place and date not given: "A Shock Was Needed"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Yegor Timurovich, under what conditions would you have remained in office?

[Gaydar] If I had sufficient opportunities to keep a check on monetary, loan, and financial policies. That is, the political fields that our society, but also the whole world, always believed to be my responsibility anyway.

[DER SPIEGEL] You said that the monetary union with Belarus was one of the main reasons for your resignation. Why is it dangerous?

[Gaydar] In general, the extension of the ruble zone and the integration of other states, too, are conceivable. But only if the coordination mechanisms work very well and the uncontrolled printing of money can be ruled out for sure. If, however, there are only vague formulations instead, this will, in the end, only result in a competition for the faster printing of money. Why should the Belarusians deliver something to Russia if they can pay for our goods with freshly printed rubles?

[DER SPIEGEL] Is your resignation alone to blame for the present, almost free fall of the ruble?

[Gaydar] It was caused by a negative change in inflationary expectations.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can the new government do something against it?

[Gaydar] Let us hope that the government will manage to keep a check on inflation, without reaching a deadlock. At any rate, Russia's complicated problems cannot be solved by new national credit presents. However, there is the great risk that precisely this course will be taken.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your parliamentary party colleague, Boris Fedorov, who has been finance minister so far, also no longer wants to participate in the new government. He had called for the replacement of Central Bank chief Gerashchenko and Deputy Prime Minister Zaveryukha, who is responsible for agriculture. Are they the people who forced the change of course?

[Gaydar] These demands come from Fedorov. I am keeping out of it. It is our joint hope that the worst can be prevented. The worse, the better—this is not our attitude.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you go into the opposition with your adherents?

[Gaydar] Our parliamentary group in the State Duma will do everything to block irresponsible economic and budget decisions. This is all the more important since Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's statements have clearly shown that he is succumbing to illusions that inflation could also be counteracted by other than monetary measures.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you also assume partial responsibility for having caused Zhirinovskiy's rise by shock methods of the market economy?

[Gaydar] Failures in the implementation of reforms definitely contributed to Zhirinovskiy's success. However, one has to be precise regarding the causes of the failures. Profound reforms aiming at privatization and price decontrol were carried out. However, financial policies always remained soft. But they are meant when people talk about a shock therapy. As a result of pressure from the Supreme Soviet and the regions, burdens that were impossible to fulfill were put on the state budget again and again. What was precisely needed was a shock.

[DER SPIEGEL] This sounds as if you had liked to drive even more voters to Zhirinovskiy...

[Gaydar] ... our polls have shown that those who voted for this man come from neither the impoverished nor from social fringe groups, but from the middle class: better qualified workers, people with handsome incomes.

They are not primarily dissatisfied with their material situation, but with the lack of order, crime, which is getting out of hand, and Russia's present situation in the world.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there now the danger that, on the one hand, Western help will be discontinued, while, on the other, Russia will turn away from Western economic and political values?

[Gaydar] This is a very serious danger. I am convinced that long-term relations of partnership suit Russia's strategic objectives best. Here I have always proceeded

on the assumption that Russia has to solve its problems by its own. No financial help from the West, however voluminous it may be, will be able to save the Russian economy as a whole. However, Western help can mitigate the social effects of our economic problems.

[DER SPIEGEL] The doubts of foreign financial backers about whether their loans are appropriately used in Russia are increasing.

[Gaydar] Transfers from abroad, however voluminous they may be, cannot replace a reasonable monetary policy in one's own country. At most, they will result in an increase of Russian assets in Western accounts. As fast as the money would come to Russia, it would it be transferred again as fast. This cannot be prevented by foreign exchange control, but only by sufficient economic stability.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will President Yeltsin become a prisoner of the parliamentary majority of communists, centrists, and right-wing extremists?

[Gaydar] I know that the president sees himself as a reformer and wants to continue this course. Therefore, I hope that he will spare no effort to achieve this objective. However, we neither put him on the tsar's throne nor on God's throne, but we only elected him president. He has to see how he can cope with the new restrictions.

[DER SPIEGEL] And with his opponents...

[Gaydar] ...they will introduce draft laws, in order to invalidate again all the market and property mechanisms that are already effective today. The law on the rights of the work collectives alone, which has been prepared by the communists, would fully suffice to paralyze the market economy in Russia. Moreover, they will resolve a gigantic expenditure that cannot be financed. However, the new government will have to answer for this.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is the next target of your ambition—a [university] chair of economic sciences or the chair of the Russian president?

[Gaydar] The seat at my desk at home attracts me most.

## Grachev Had No Doubt About Retaining Defense Post

*LD2501153894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1431 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Defense Minister Pavel Grachev had no doubts that he would retain his post in Russia's reorganized government. Only some newspapers and journalists entertained doubts on this score, he declared on Tuesday [25 January] at a meeting with his Belgian counterpart, Leo Delcroix. The Belgian defense minister expressed satisfaction in this connection, since, as he put it, Grachev presents "a stabilizing factor" in Russia.

Grachev and Delcroix, who came to Moscow for an official visit, intend to discuss military cooperation between Russia and Belgium, the results of the recent meeting between the Russian and American presidents, problems connected with European security, the role played by NATO in this, and ways to heighten the effectiveness of nuclear non-proliferation.

Addressing journalists, Grachev said that he intends to exchange views on the American Partnership for Peace concept with his Belgian counterpart. This initiative is interpreted differently in the world, he stressed. Some people believe that all the countries can join Partnership for Peace, others maintain that the concept is acceptable only to specific countries, and there are those who claim that the concept is designed to unite several countries against some third party, he noted.

Grachev called for determining this issue once and for all, and said he hopes that Delcroix will present Russia's attitude at a session of NATO's Security Council.

The two defense ministers also discussed the possibility of a joint visit to the former Yugoslavia. As Grachev said, the Russian and Belgian peace-keeping contingents deserve high praise from the international command.

During his two-day trip to Russia, Delcroix is expected to visit Russia's strategic troops. He will be the first foreign defense minister, particularly representing NATO, to see Russia's strategic troops and their combat installations, Grachev said.

## Health Minister Appointment Triggers Resignations

*LD2501095194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0936 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Two high officials of the Russian Ministry of Health—First Deputy Minister Aleksey Moskvichev and Deputy Minister Vladimir Starodubov—sent in their resignations after the appointment of Eduard Nechayev as health minister had been endorsed. ITAR-TASS learned this from a well-informed source. The source said there is a conflict between deputy ministers and Nechayev, so Moskvichev and Starodubov deemed it impossible to work under his direction. Nechayev has signed the resignations which are now considered by the government.

New candidatures to fill the posts have already been found, ITAR-TASS was told.

## Poltoranin Interviewed on Government Situation

*LD2401231994*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1920 GMT on 24 January carries the "Moment of Truth" program, hosted by Andrey Karaulov, with this week's guest Mikhail Poltoranin, former Russian deputy prime minister and currently chairman of the State Duma committee for information, politics,

and communications. The interview was recorded in Moscow on 20 January. Topics covered included the background and aftermath of Gaydar's resignation, rumors in the press on Chernomyrdin's presidential ambitions, the possibility of a general strike this year, his attitude toward Yeltsin, the events of October 1993, his own resignation, the election results, his past relations with the Russian media, and his hopes for the work of the State Duma.

Asked about the background to Gaydar's resignation, Poltoranin said: "As regards the actual resignation of Gaydar, it was no surprise to me, because we discussed this problem—the resignation of his whole team from the government—as early as the beginning of last November when we were preparing for the elections. I'm sure that Russia's Choice would have got a bigger percentage if this team had distanced itself from the government and distanced itself from the mistakes that the government made in 1992. Having weighed up all the pros and cons, we said that Gaydar cannot afford the luxury of resigning just prior to the referendum, because at that time society had started getting irritated and as a result of this irritation many people would not have gone to the polls, and we might not have got the constitution. We set the adoption of the constitution higher than our party interests, and thank God, we've got the constitution. Now Gaydar has resigned, and in principle his umbilical cord was cut long ago and nothing links him with the policies—if you can call them policies—currently being pursued by Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin."

Karaulov went on to ask how Yeltsin could let Gaydar go. Poltoranin said: "It seems to me that the president himself has, in this difficult situation, got slightly disoriented to some degree. We're all disoriented. Today we're faced with a massive halt to production, of enterprises, and so on, and the president is already feeling a sense of danger for Russia. It seems to him that a man who has got hold of the economy in his teeth—Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin—can see more and make a more correct assessment of the situation. He has given him all the cards, and he is now giving Chernomyrdin the opportunity: Go ahead, if you don't agree with this or that, sort it out for yourself. There is a question, and I do not blame the president in this although to some degree a time will come when we shall all have to reflect again on today's actions—say, those of the prime minister and his entourage."

Having warned of the possibility of a general strike this year as a result of political intriguing, Karaulov pressed Poltoranin as to whether he really thought it possible that a general political strike might occur this summer. He replied: "I wouldn't want that to happen, of course, just like the rest of us. But just look at the situation today, what is happening in Russia, and you can't rule it out. The figures are large, colossal unfortunately. Group B factories are coming to a standstill, that is, the ones that produce clothing, our personal effects. And there are people, there are groups—I'll cite them in specific terms now—for whom it is advantageous for all this to happen. There are people, there are now movements, for whom the worse things are, the better. I would include here the movement, or party, of Zhirinovskiy, because it's very advantageous to Zhirinovskiy that everything should be seething. He's one of those people who like to surf across the waves." Asked why Yeltsin cannot see this for himself, he said: "The points of view from which we all look at one problem or another don't always coincide. Why are reforms under way in the Ministry of Security and its structures, a search for some kind of normal or acceptable forms? Because they don't satisfy the president—they don't satisfy any of us, we don't know and the president often doesn't know what is going on. That is, it seems to me he doesn't have enough information."

## Cabinet's Lack of Political Support Viewed

*PM2401194194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 94 First Edition p 2*

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich article: "Viktor Chernomyrdin Seeks Allies in Parliament. But No Party or Faction Regards the Government as 100-Percent 'Its Own'"]

[Text] At a session of the presidium of the new Cabinet of Ministers held Friday [21 January], Viktor Chernomyrdin appealed to his colleagues "to learn to work with the Federation Council and the Duma, because the government has recently gotten out of the habit of working with a parliament and needs to establish businesslike ties." All the indications are that this appeal is not just a ritual incantation (both Gaydar and, in December 1992, Chernomyrdin himself started off by promising to cooperate with parliament) but an indirect statement of the obvious: The new government does not enjoy widespread political support.

Contrary to the canons of world democratic practice whereby either the parliamentary majority or a parliamentary party coalition forms the government, the new Russian cabinet has been formed by the premier himself. Viktor Chernomyrdin has, as it were, satisfied the program demands of the "agrarians," "Women of Russia," the "Travkinites," and the Communists.... This is precisely the reason why no one Duma faction can regard the Cabinet of Ministers as 100-percent "its own." Taking the broader view, the same holds true for all political forces.

At the present time the government's most reliable parliamentary ally may be the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, which, incidentally, has not stopped Sergey Shakhray from hedging around his participation in the Cabinet of Ministers with a list of basic conditions.

Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy would grace the government with his political patronage "on condition that Kozyrev, Chubays, and Shokhin quit." However, the removal of these three figures would also satisfy the Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, who believed that the struggle between

Gaydar's men and the pragmatists would end up as "a hybrid resolution with a preponderance of pragmatists."

Support for the government from "Russia's Choice" looks more than doubtful. Its intention not to oppose the Cabinet of Ministers, "to support all positive undertakings and proposals which accord with the reforms course," which was enshrined in a statement by this parliamentary faction only a week ago, did not look entirely sincere even then. Now, however, with Fedorov's resignation and the accession to key posts of sector lobbyists, it is becoming far more urgent for "Russia's Choice" to exercise the right it has reserved for itself "to criticize, and if necessary to mobilize parliamentary, social, political, and scientific potential in order to oppose antireformist and economically irresponsible steps." Without acting against their conscience, the leaders of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" faction will almost certainly subscribe to this declaration, as might, with some reservations, members of the "Alliance of 12 December."

Finally, it is doubtful whether the president will tie himself to the present government with strong and long-term obligations. The head of state's autograph, which sanctifies the composition of the new government, has cost Chernomyrdin extraordinary effort, whereas for Yeltsin it has meant making concessions and compromising his shaky reputation as a reformer. And this haggling, which has been most unpleasant and exhausting, as well as Yeltsin's inability to resist pressure from his premier who has become a strong and independent political figure, involuntarily brings us back to a phrase which Yeltsin once let slip regarding another matter no less sensitive to his self-esteem: "The president will not forget this."

If Viktor Chernomyrdin is relying primarily on the Federation Council, which has displayed unparalleled tractability in electing the premier's favored candidate Vladimir Shumeyko to the post of speaker, we do not yet know what price the senators will demand for their loyalty, and the issue of who will ultimately depend more on whom is still up in the air.

But the most basic reason that prevents any one of the parties or factions from unconditionally approving the composition of the government is the duplication of the executive branch which a number of observers have noted. With what government exactly, following Chernomyrdin's wishes, is the parliament supposed to "establish businesslike ties"? There is the "president's government" comprising the power structures, the Foreign Ministry, and the Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Administration, all of which are directly subordinate to Yeltsin.... And there is the "premier's government" which is concentrating exclusively on managing the "national economy." These "shoots" on the executive branch will each bear fruit for both the president and the premier, but Yeltsin's "harvest" is guaranteed "come rain or shine," so to speak. In the worst-case and, unfortunately, most likely scenario (hyperinflation), the political alibi of the head of state, who has farmed out management of the economy to the head of the government, will be guaranteed.

Given this forking of the executive branch, the parliamentary factions will only want to look after "their own" bit of the government, the bit that is geared toward the figures closest to them. The Party of Russian Unity and Accord will shelter Viktor Chernomyrdin under its party wing, the "agrarians" will protect Aleksandr Zaveryukha, "New Regional Policy" will look after the sector ministers, and "Women of Russia" will back the whole cabinet since it supports the social orientation of the actions they are planning. For its part, "Russia's Choice" will rescue the "Yeltsin Government" from the firing line of criticism, namely Andrey Kozyrev, Anatoliy Chubays, Pavel Grachev, and Viktor Yerin....

In light of this prospect, Viktor Chernomyrdin's claim that "there is no opposition in the government to parliament, there are only common interests" looks highly amusing. And if the Duma implements its initiative to compel the government to give a weekly account of itself, we will witness a kind of parliamentary "bullfight" which we have never seen before.

Unity in the Federal Assembly will probably only occur at that desperate moment when (forecasters are saying May or June) inflation reaches yet another high and deputies of various political stripes, so as not to lose face, will jointly raise the issue of confidence in the government without bothering to divide it into "ours" and "theirs."

## LDP Spokesman: Party Membership 'About 100,000'

*AU2401151894 Vienna KURIER in German 24 Jan 94 p 5*

[Livia Klingl report: "The Headquarters of the Leader"]

[Text] Central Moscow, 1 Ribnykov Road. Behind the crumbling facade, there is the headquarters of the man who scares the world with his fascist statements: Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The elevator does not work, and the garbage is piling up on the staircase. Only a small store on the first floor is clean where the "Liberal Democratic Party" (LDP) offers black leather jackets and flashy T-shirts.

The party office beneath the roof is a meeting place for strange figures. A man on a shabby sofa stared fixedly at nothing and moved the upper part his body steadily forward and backward. He is a former member of the Soviet Army who presents his "plan for the free construction of millions of apartments" to visitors. Because of this and other inventions he is worth "$1 billion per day"—but nobody wants to pay.

According to the press spokesman and director of the party newspaper, "ZHIRINOVSKIY'S TRUTH,"

Viktor Novosyeltsev, Vladimir Volfovich—his code name is "locomotive"—is "nice, friendly, and a good husband." Moreover, he is a "vigorous politician and not a shouting man as he likes to present himself. And he is by no means the man depicted by the hostile media.

Asked about the number of members, the shy party spokesman mentions "about 100,000." They have to pay 1 percent of their monthly salaries and send their applications to the LDP address, marked for Mr. Zhirinovskiy's attention. These are the rules according to the party program.

Some extra money can be earned through interviews. For $1,000, a date can be fixed, and if the party leader is in a good mood, the journalists even get a receipt. "This is common practice all over the world," Novosyeltsev explained. He does not know anything about funds from the KGB and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The party's structure as a one-man show "corresponds to the Russian mentality." To solve Russia's problems, "surgery and not therapy is required," a strong man "who spreads our ideas." Novosyeltsev did not know how to answer the question about what the LDP would do if it assumed power. "That is difficult to say." After a longer pause, he added: "The first thing would be an amnesty for political prisoners and prisoners who committed economic crimes." He continued: "Radical democrats and radical communists should be allowed to exist—but not within the government."

## Agrarian Party Economic Program Outlined

*PM2501122594 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Jan 94 p 3*

[Economist Yuriy Abramov review under "New Books" rubric: "From the Agrarians' Viewpoint"]

[Text] Two basic problems are examined in the work "The Agrarian Party of Russia. Fundamentals of Its Economic Program" [Agrarnaya Partiya Rossii. Osnovy Ekonomicheskoy Programmy"], (authors M.I. Lapshin, L.P. Orlenko, and I.P. Rybkin, published in 1993 by the N.E. Bauman Moscow State Technical School): Who is to blame for Russia's present-day troubles; and what must be done to get out of the state of crisis.

The answer to the first, traditional Russian question is not one-dimensional. Those primarily to blame are those who broke up the USSR. The political struggle between the different branches of power which ended in the bloody October events made a considerable contribution to the present-day crisis. Yet the main agents of the crisis are those whose actions generated the "shock therapy" program, which is based on the "Houston Report." This document, compiled by order of the leaders of seven Western countries, is a program (around 1,200 pages long) for integrating the USSR (Russia and the other CIS countries) into the world economy in two to three years. Through a transition to world prices, privatization, liberalization of prices and foreign trade, financial stabilization....

Essentially it is the "Houston Report" that has determined the Russian Government's activity in the last two years. This program's implementation is leading to the destruction of Russia's scientific and technical potential, the bankrupting of the processing industry, the collapse of agriculture, and the utter decline of education, medicine, and culture. The Western program is creating conditions for mass unemployment, a reduction in the population of Russia and the CIS countries, and a drop in the people's living standards. "Shock therapy" is advantageous to the domestic comprador bourgeoisie and the developed countries, which are expanding a raw-material base for themselves, obtaining a market for selling unsold goods, and eliminating a future economic competitor. What is being created in Russia instead of a market and democracy is a criminal mafia society intent on plundering Russia's national wealth in the interests of Western civilization.

The work in question sets out a concept for extricating Russia from the crisis. It is based on the implementation in 1994 of a range of measures to halt the decline in production and prevent the population's further impoverishment. These are primarily to stop the illegal export of currency abroad (around $20 billion a year), the unbalanced exchange with CIS countries (losses of $17 billion a year), and the robbery of the overwhelming mass of the population by a small section (around 4 percent) of it; to resume weapons exports (losses of over $15 billion a year); to stimulate (by taxes, credits, subsidies, etc) the production of goods and services; to utilize the banking system to invest in production; to temporarily introduce tight control over the export of raw and other materials, energy, and consumer goods; to end the import of colonial goods into Russia; and to restrain inflation by regulating the entire mechanism of economic instruments (prices, taxes, subsidies, credits, etc).

Creating the conditions for economic growth and for building a civilized market requires a corresponding structural reorganization of production, privatization, and the destatization of public property. In order to preserve scientific and technical potential and use it practically it is necessary to form several hundred major corporations like Sony, Boeing, General Motors, and suchlike. A structural reorganization, that is a substantial expansion of the production of goods and services for the population, requires the utilization of the currency which is now "escaping" to foreign countries far and near and into the pockets of swindlers and speculators. These objectives require the corporatization of production and the leasing of enterprises (corporations) to labor collectives or the transfer of enterprises to their economic control, with payment being made for capital and with the possibility of enterprises' being bought out for shared collective ownership. This will enable millions of workers to be made the owners of the fruits of their labor

and simultaneously the co-owners of an enterprise. This trend is now gathering momentum in developed countries.

Given our criminalized economy, only labor collectives will be able to cope with economic banditry and create the conditions for a civilized, socially oriented market. The law-enforcement organs cannot resolve this task on their own.

Supporting agriculture requires a balanced exchange with other sectors, aid to the economic units providing goods for the population, and the termination of aid to foreign private farmers (in the form of imported agricultural products). The buying and selling of agricultural and urban land is not permissible. Otherwise land will be bought up through front men by foreigners and the nouveau riche, who have become wealthy through the impoverishment of pensioners, children, doctors, engineers, military personnel, workers, and peasants. A land free-for-all will lead to the collapse of the agricultural economy and to famine in the cities. Public land must be leased long-term to producers in the countryside (collective and state farms and private farmers). The buying and selling of land must not go beyond the framework of dacha and garden plots and land attached to individual homes.

A system of draft laws on privatization, the agricultural economy, social policy, prices and price formation, taxes, finances, and banks, and other topics needs to be drawn up for the State Duma on the basis of the concept of economic reform in question. The adoption of these documents will create the legislative basis for a program of reforms providing an alternative to "shock therapy."

## SCSE Trial Resumes; Yazov Rejects Coup Charges

*PM2401154994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 94 p 2*

[Valeriy Rudnev report: "State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] Case: Defendants' Latest Ploys"]

[Text] The questioning of defendants continues at the court session hearing the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] case, which has resumed after a long recess.

Marshal Yazov is clearly sticking to the line previously agreed with the other defendants—the line previously followed by KGB General Vladimir Kryuchkov—of talking more about Mikhail Gorbachev and less about himself. He notably stated that, in his opinion, the former USSR president agreed in principle with the SCSE members' actions in August 1991. According to the marshal, Gorbachev's parting words to the SCSE group on 18 August were: "Act, and we shall see." True, Yazov acknowledged that Gorbachev did not agree with the introduction of a state of emergency in the country. However, knowing Gorbachev's character, the marshal stressed in his testimony that his words could have been interpreted as a wish to avoid responsibility. "There can be no question of the USSR president's having been isolated in any way," Yazov stated. "Gorbachev isolated himself for three days."

Evaluating the nature of the emergency measures introduced by the SCSE group, the USSR marshal drew the court's attention to the fact that troops had not dispersed constitutional bodies or interfered with their activity. And the Defense Ministry had started withdrawing armored vehicles from the capital as early as 19 August in order to avoid potential provocation. The decision to withdraw all troops from Moscow was made on 20 August. Moreover, Yazov stated, the USSR Defense Ministry, after consultations between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Pavel Grachev, commander of the country's airborne troops at the time, even sent a battalion of airborne assault troops to defend the White House. Now, however, according to Yazov, it is thought that those assault troops deserted from the Defense Ministry and went over to Boris Yeltsin.

Yazov, like Kryuchkov, does not acknowledge his guilt. On the other hand, he does regard as criminal the actions of Gorbachev and the former president's kindred spirits who destroyed the USSR.

However, it is most likely not the defendants' testimony that is proving really intriguing in the historic trial under way in the Russian Supreme Court. That testimony is already known to everyone (it only remains for a movie to be made of it all). Perhaps the only interest is in the dwindling number of defendants in the dock: How many of them will be there to hear the verdict?

Of the 14 SCSE members arraigned by the investigators in 1991 only nine remained by the end of 1993. Two of them—Anatoliy Lukyanov and Vasiliy Starodubtsev—were intending to leave the courtroom at the start of 1994: They were both elected deputies in the new parliament and were fully counting on receiving immunity. However, the court deemed otherwise: Citing the law, it ruled that a deputy's immunity from criminal prosecution does not apply in this case to Lukyanov and Starodubtsev,

The defendants immediately came up with new ruses. Notably, Valentin Pavlov did not appear for trial on the day appointed by the court, claiming illness. After checking out Pavlov's "sickness certificate," the panel of military judges ruled that the defendant's nonappearance had no legal basis and warned him that there could be a change in the measures employed to secure his appearance in court, in other words, he could be held in custody.

Anatoliy Lukyanov made an attempt to impose his own rules on the court. He initially covered his absence from court with a medical certificate. But the "sick" Lukyanov's regular appearances in parliament exposed this lame ploy. Then Lukyanov told the court that he could sit in the dock only during that time free from the discharge of affairs of state in parliament. That trick did

not work. In its judgment the panel of military judges ruled that no business, even affairs of state, can exempt a defendant from the duty to be in the place determined by criminal proceedings, namely the dock.

The SCSE trial continues. What will the defendants dream up next?

## Military & Space Issues

### Defense Ministry, General Staff Discuss 'Errors'

*LD2401163194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1525 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jan—Despite the work that has been done by the Russian Ministry of Defense on building the Russian armed forces, certain errors have been made in organizing the management of the forces, and in personnel and training work. Military communications are giving rise to serious complaints, and cooperation with local administrations in resolving matters concerning the draft has not been properly established in all places.

This was stated at a working conference of administrative bodies of the General Staff and the Defense Ministry held today by Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Defense Ministry's information and press directorate that the main aim of the conference was to reveal the ministry's shortcomings and errors in time, and to assess them.

Among the positive results of the ministry's work since it was set up, note was made of the elaboration of plans for the development of the armed forces, for their strategic deployment and the organization of rear supplies, and the creation of a blueprint for a military training system.

On conclusion of the conference, Defense Minister Grachev stressed that the correct conclusions would be drawn in the armed forces and every measure would be taken effectively to ensure the security of the state.

### Grachev Notes Shortcomings

*PM2401165594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 1*

[Statement by the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Information and Press Directorate: "Work Analyzed, New Tasks Scheduled"]

[Text] On 24 January Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense, held a working conference during which the effectiveness of the work of command and control organs of the General Staff and Ministry of Defense was analyzed in detail.

A great deal has been done in the period since the creation of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. Plans for the organizational development of the Armed Forces and their strategic deployment have been elaborated, and the relevant directives have been sent to the troops and their implementation has been organized. A certain amount of experience has been built up in recruiting citizens to military service on contract. The Armed Forces rear services support has by and large been planned and organized quite well amid the complex economic conditions in the state. A concept for the military training system has been elaborated.

At the same time, not everything has gone smoothly in the organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces. Certain errors have been made in the organization of the command and control of the troops and cadre and training work. Military communications, which are markedly lagging behind world standards in their development, are generating serious criticism. Cooperation with local administrations in settling questions of the draft to the Armed Forces has not been established everywhere in a clear-cut way. There are also other shortcomings which primarily require the responsibility and professionalism of the military leaders in order to be overcome.

The main aim of the conference which has been held, Pavel Grachev noted, is to expose our shortcomings and blunders in time. To assess them. And find ways of solving problems. The correct conclusions will be drawn in the Armed Forces, the minister stressed, and all the necessary measures will be adopted to ensure the state's security effectively.

[Signed] The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Information and Press Directorate

### Gromov on Navy's 1993 Performance, Prospects

*PM2401134594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 94 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Admiral F.N. Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy, by Vladimir Maryukha, under the "Interlocutor of the Day" rubric; place and date not given: "There Is No No-Man's-Land Between Sea and Shore"]

[Text] **Calling Card**

Admiral Feliks Nikolayevich Gromov is commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy. On graduating from the Pacific Higher Naval School he progressed via his first postings to the command of a destroyer, a cruiser, and a squadron of ships. He has served in the Pacific and Northern Fleets and at the Leningrad Naval Base. He has been commander of the Northern Fleet and first deputy commander in chief of the Navy.

[Maryukha] Feliks Nikolayevich, Russia's Navy has another year behind it, not the best of years, moreover, in its almost 300-year history. How did seamen cope with the tasks they were set at the beginning of 1993?

[Gromov] The tasks that the Navy was set a year ago have been performed. This means that the Navy has succeeded in preserving the specified level of combat readiness of the fleets' main large strategic formations and combined units, as well as their ability to shift in a timely and organized manner from a peacetime to a wartime footing and perform their main operational tasks within the prescribed timeframes.

I think that everyone realizes that the year has not been one of the best in the fleet's history: There is no no-man's-land between the sea and shore and all the economic, political, and other difficulties that the country is experiencing were bound to affect the state of the Navy.

Nevertheless it was 1993 that once again saw an increase in the intensity and effectiveness of strategic submarines' combat service and alert duty. Foreign naval forces' activity was reliably monitored by the general-purpose forces. At the same time Russian ships collaborated intensively with multinational forces in the Persian Gulf and established contacts between Russians and the population of other countries during official visits, the number of which also increased.

[Maryukha] Against the overall backdrop of the difficulties experienced by the country the increase in the intensity of naval service cannot help but evoke pleasure and...surprise: How did it prove possible to achieve positive change?

[Gromov] First, I must say that the Navy's combat training was carried out in a systematic manner. Intensively, but without straining them to breaking point. Of course there were and still are difficulties—in repairing ships and providing the Navy with all kinds of supplies. However, the Navy's role goes far beyond the as yet unresolved problems. And in this main area Russian seamen have shown themselves at their best.

The "Typhoon-93" command staff training exercise under the leadership of the defense minister, involving the Northern and Pacific Fleets, confirmed the naval strategic nuclear forces' readiness to perform their set tasks and the staffs' preparedness for field command and control of the main attack forces. The Navy's combat readiness was also confirmed by the competitive tactical exercises for the Navy championship which resumed after a year's gap. This was the first time that the Kuznetsov aircraft-carrying heavy cruiser took part in these exercises. And the participation of ships of the Northern, Baltic, and Pacific Fleets in joint exercises with other countries' navies confirmed our seamen's supreme naval combat, weapons, and tactical proficiency. Russian seamen worthily represented our country in Canada, the United States, Britain, France, and Greece, and, after a 90-year gap, in China and South Korea.

This past year combat training plans did indeed have to be adjusted and the number of course tasks reduced. Factors beyond the fleet's control were responsible for this—lack of fuel, lubricants, ship repair services, a dramatic reduction in funding, and undermanning of ships. But despite all this the organizational, moral, and psychological groundwork was laid in 1993 for a qualitatively new approach to the system of training command and control organs and naval forces.

[Maryukha] But, Feliks Nikolayevich, last year it did not nonetheless prove possible to avoid a threat to the future of the Navy: Ships "left" Navy ranks early and a difficult situation also arose with "the Navy's wings"—the air force....

[Gromov] In 1993 naval aviation began using the ship-based Su-27K fighter. ASW aviation must also be recorded has having shown an improvement. However, the economic crisis and the resulting lack of new equipment and spare parts, and holdups with aviation fuel did indeed reduce flying time, disrupt combat training plans, and, naturally, reduce naval aviators' combat readiness and flight safety.

The worst situation developed in the Black Sea Fleet air force: Owing to nondelivery of spare parts and inadequate repairs, around half of the aircraft and helicopters are unable to take to the air today.

I would also describe the upgrading and replacement of the Navy's ships as an issue of statewide importance. More continuity than ever before is needed here: from one model or design of a ship to another more sophisticated model, from the slips to the plant moorings. It is extremely essential that we preserve this technological chain both from the viewpoint of safeguarding the qualitative parameters of the fleet's fighting strength and also from the moral and psychological viewpoint.

In 1994 the Navy plans to obtain from industry the Petr Velikiy nuclear missile cruiser, a large ASW ship, patrol escorts, and certain other ships. The "Sever" machine building enterprise in Severodvinsk recently began construction of the first of class of a promising multirole nuclear submarine. Those are the immediate prospects as regards Navy replenishment, prospects that are directly dependent on full funding.

In the longer term it is planned to further develop combat surface ships. Priority here will be given to destroyers, patrol escorts, and minesweepers. There are plans to develop a new multirole shore-based aircraft for naval aviation, intended primarily to perform tasks of covering the surface and underwater situation.

On the other hand, the quantitative reduction of the fleet will continue. This is brought about by the tasks of the new military doctrine and the state's economic potential. Our main aim is to create a relatively small, but qualitatively perfect and highly effective Navy, which would be less economically burdensome for the country than in the past. This task will be performed at the same time as the reform of the fleet and the construction of new ships. But I would not call the situation that is emerging, as this task is resolved, a simple one.

[Maryukha] In your view, can it be rectified somehow?

[Gromov] It must be, but is there a real chance of doing so?

In any sector of industry, in any branch of the Armed Forces there will be plenty of problems that the department in question considers paramount. We realize that the country is in a difficult economic position and that the budget is not, so to speak, elastic.

On the other hand, there must also be awareness that the accumulated potential with its high technologies for the construction of both surface ships and submarines must not disappear and that, if they are lost, it will subsequently be hard for decades to produce these kinds of technologies and forms of production sharing.

I think that 1994 should nonetheless be the year that sees the country's economic revival. And that inspires hope. At the same time one must constantly think about those serving today and who will serve the Russian Navy in the future....

[Maryukha] I understand your concern: The naval budget, like a shagreen skin, is shrinking drastically with every day that passes, and moreover by no means having fulfilled our wishes—owing to inflation, cuts in defense spending... But, along with a technically upgraded Navy, it is also necessary to resolve the problems of providing seamen with social protection, primarily, providing them with housing....

[Gromov] Last year we succeeded, despite all the difficulties with funding, in building and obtaining 6,035 apartments. That is with a total number of 13,220 people without apartments and 4,184 people in need of an improvement in their housing conditions.

On the other hand, this number of people in need of housing is spread extremely unevenly across the regions where the Navy is based. In the Baltic Fleet it is primarily a question of Baltiysk and Kaliningrad, where housing was previously in short supply and requirements have now risen in connection with the troop withdrawal from the Baltic countries. In the Northern Fleet it is mainly the city of Murmansk and, in part, Severomorsk. And in the Pacific Fleet it is a question of Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. In the Black Sea Fleet Sevastopol bears the brunt of the problems involved in resolving the housing problem. This problem is also hard to resolve in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

That is why since 1992 we have been taking a more rational approach to resolving the question of housing construction. Now the main emphasis is being laid on housing construction in Russia's middle zone in order to move people away from the closed garrisons. I have also set the task of not expanding certain military camps but improving their structure.

Of course, uneven inadequate funding has a considerable impact on this process. At the same time feasible housing construction plans should be drawn up. If the population of a garrison is falling, we should probably take a careful look at what option is more advisable here—building a new kindergarten or refurbishing existing sociocultural consumer facilities, etc. That is, a rational approach must prevail today. In 1994 we are planning to build around 11,500 apartments with our own funds and via shared participation. Time will tell what comes of that. And, of course, what sort of money is allocated.

[Maryukha] Feliks Nikolayevich, since we have started talking about the plans for 1994 I think it appropriate to ask you about the tasks that the Navy is to tackle this year.

[Gromov] To use the language of command the Navy must maintain the strength and status of the naval strategic forces at a level which guarantees that tasks are implemented under any conditions and maintain the strength and status of the general-purpose forces to provide all-around backup for the Navy's activity in conflict-prevention from Russia's maritime sectors....

Combat service and combat alert duty remain the fundamental means of performing these main tasks. In order to perform these tasks it is necessary to resolve a set of questions pertaining to updating and reducing the amount of specific-task equipment amid the ongoing naval downsizing and improve the basing and support system for the Navy's remaining ships. This is primarily a question of providing amenities for the Baltic Fleet and Caspian Flotilla forces that are being withdrawn and removing shore-based naval infrastructures from Latvia, Estonia, and Belarus. Combat training, like last year, starts with training at the base and will be completed during integrated sea voyages [kompleksnyye vykhody v more]. This is dictated by the fact that one should not count on improvement in the Navy's material and technical support and instances of putting to sea with no serious intent the Navy too dear.

Nevertheless ships should not stay at their moorings for long. Coastal waters and the oceans of the world will be their zone of operations.

The main task facing the command of the Navy remains the creation of normal service and living conditions for all personnel—seamen, warrant officers, and officers. It is a question of boosting the prestige of Navy service and all the concepts that go with this. It is a question of creating conditions of service where every man does his job. Naval personnel and flight personnel do their job, while shore-based structures do theirs. That is hard to achieve, but only then will the fleet unconditionally perform its main function.

## Gromov: Navy Must Shed More Staff

*LD2401171794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Feliks Gromov, the commander in chief of the Russian Navy, has stated that quantitative cuts in the navy will continue in 1994. At the same time, the navy

will be modernized with improved models of combat vessels. The main aim is to create a small but highly efficient navy that would be less of a burden for the country from the economic point of view.

### Navy Commander on Nuclear Warheads in Baltic Fleet

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT on 24 January carries a video report on the visit to the Baltic Fleet by Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Navy. The announcer, G.Sablin, says that the combat and tactical training of the crews and vessels of the Baltic Fleet deserves the highest evaluation. He says that the admiral talked about the timescale for the withdrawal of forces of the fleet from Latvia, and he confirmed the readiness of the last major unit—a submarine brigade—to leave Liepaja by 1 June.

Admiral Igor Kasatonov stressed that with the loss of bases in the Baltic countries the Russian fleet is not losing its might and mobility. Kasatonov says: "If the fleet now has 27 percent of the nuclear warheads, then it will rise to 42-47 percent by the year 2000. On 21 December 1993 I had the honor of being the senior person from the Ministry of Defense at the laying of the keel of a most modern submarine. In addition, the keels of some surface vessels were also laid, and some vessels were also completed, but, again, the concept of a new fleet, a third millenium fleet, which of course has to pass through the government, needs to be confirmed."

### Ministry of Defense TV Program Unveils SU-34

*OW2501022894 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0640 GMT 20 Jan 94*

[VoyenTV "Arsenal" video report; from the "Military Courier" program]

[Text] The new Russian Su-34 frontline bomber has become the latest sensation. The aircraft has an almost unlimited flight range. The Su-34 can fly 4,000 kilometers without aerial refueling or auxiliary fuel tanks. Its fundamentally new on-board digital computer, and other radio and electronic equipment, unerringly guides the aircraft to a given target with accuracy down to a meter. And it does this in any meteorological conditions. [video shows the aircraft landing, taking off, and in flight, showing its similarity to an Su-35 with a cockpit similar to that of the Su-25TK]

The homing and guided missiles, and bombs permit the Su-34 to strike well-defended point targets at a distance of from 0 to 250 kilometers and it carries sufficient weapons to fulfill any task. The new aircraft is equipped with a so-called artificial intelligence system which allows the bomber to perform intricate maneuvers at top speed and at minimal altitudes, and to unerringly follow the lay of the land and easily avoid the anti-aircraft actions of ground forces. [video shows the Su-34 on the ground being viewed by a group of people]

The Su-34 looks like no other aircraft. It has its own features, its own bearing, its own fighting spirit, and its own purely Russian unpredictability. This is our own domestic aircraft which is not a threat to anybody. It was created for us, for our spirit, for the defense of Russia. [video shows A.A. Kokoshin, first deputy Russian Minister of Defense, being interviewed among a group of officials; a man on his right has the air force banner over his shoulders]

[Begin recording] [Kokoshin] Those who built this machine today and who lifted it into the air are the real heroes, our Russian people, and our country has always had many of them. You agree, Nikolay Ivanovich?

[Man with Banner on his Shoulders] Yes. (Lizovtsy) and Chkalovtsy, you can be proud. We have achieved victory. Hurrah. [everybody cheers] [end recording]

### Unpaid Bills Said To Endanger Military Industry

*PM2401171794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 94 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Colonel Valentin Rudenko: "Today's Main Priority Is To Pay Money Owed to the Defense Industry"]

[Text] Folk wisdom holds that the way you see in the New Year is an omen for the way life is going to treat you in the rest of the year. Some people may think my claim not quite objective, but most enterprises in Russia's long-suffering defense complex this time met the New Year in fairly good spirits, and even with a certain degree of optimism and hope.

First, despite the gloomy forecasts—which, it should be stated directly, were more than sufficiently well-founded—our defense industry has not collapsed or been fragmented into a multitude of design bureaus, scientific research institutes, and plants, cast upon the whim of fate. What is more, in some areas, above all in spheres defined as priorities by the Ministry of Defense—strategic nuclear forces, automated command and control systems, communications in the tactical echelon, intelligence systems, high-precision conventional weapons, and a number of others—definite progress was achieved. The construction of a new multi-purpose submarine was begun, a new frontline combat aircraft was tested, and a number of models of new-generation command and control radio stations are ready for mass production. There are also other achievements.

As for optimism and the glimmer of hope suddenly kindled in the breasts of defense industry workers, these are due to the Russian president's edict of 6 November 1993 "On Stabilizing the Economic Situation of Defense Industry Enterprises and Organizations, and on Measures to Ensure the State Defense Order" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 20 November 1993). Let me recall that this

document covered many of the sore spots of enterprises fulfilling the State Defense Order. And, most importantly, it determined specific measures to implement many of the proposals made to the president and the government by the Ministry of Defense.

It would not be far from the truth to assert that, following this edict, many began to believe that this year would be a year of revival for Russia's industry. And at the end of December the papers brought more joyful tidings—the president had given an instruction to the government on the payment to enterprises and organizations of money owed by the state for deliveries of arms and military equipment, completed scientific research and experimental design work, and for deliveries of fuel, food, and clothing and related gear. No one had even dreamed of a better New Year's present. Let me remark that this is not a question of a couple of million rubles [R] but of a far more significant sum—more than R1 trillion. This is just for regular deliveries of weapons systems and combat equipment, and also for completed research and development.

But then the New Year holidays began; in many enterprises, because of an absence of orders and a lack of funds to pay for electricity and heating, they lasted until 10 January, and the omen that the defense industry was in for a prosperous year simply failed to come true. Rather the reverse—the first half of January showed that a still more austere and uncertain situation is developing over funding than last year. The Russian Federation president's instruction remains unfulfilled, as do the corresponding government directive and an instruction to Finance Minister Boris Fedorov personally.

But meanwhile the economic and financial situation in the country is indeed extremely difficult. The Ministry of Defense and leaders of industrial enterprises fulfilling the State Defense Order are deeply committed to cutting the inflation level and in principle support the measures adopted. However, it can hardly be correct to implement them at the cost of the virtually total shutdown of industries which still retain a unique human, scientific, and technological potential, and which are capable of ensuring the recovery of Russian industry as a whole, and also the production of competitive, science-intensive, civilian output. In addition, the inflationary properties of the State Defense Order in its current form are highly exaggerated.

Sad to relate, but we are already on the brink of chronic delays in the supply of funds even for the purchase of the spare parts and consumables necessary for maintaining in operational readiness the equipment which the troops already have, let alone for the development of new weapons systems. The majority of enterprises fulfilling the State Defense Order are wholly deprived of the possibility of accumulating funds and compiling circulating capital, and therefore, of functioning normally. According to data from Defense Ministry military representatives, around 70 percent of enterprises fulfilling the State Defense Order are standing completely idle.

The implementation of the Long-Term Arms Program—whose basic directions and priorities, according to the report of Russian Federation First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin, were approved by the Russian Federation president and the Security Council 19 January 1994—is threatened with breakdown. Without the payment of money owed to enterprises, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus, the Ministry of Defense is unable to begin fulfilling the government-approved 1994 defense order. Andrey Kokoshin stresses that without a solution to this problem a significant number of defense production units are threatened with a crisis that is fraught with the most serious consequences for Russia's defense capabilities.

Furthermore. By reducing funding year after year and not paying debts we place millions of people employed in defense production units in a critical situation and doom them to unemployment and an impoverished existence. Especially in cities and camps which are in effect satellite cities of the big defense plants. There are hundreds of them across Russia. Take Severodvinsk, Votkinsk, Kaliningrad, Zhukovskiy, Arzamas-16, and many others.

The editorial offices receive virtually every day alarming reports that many defense enterprises have been placed in a critical situation because of poor funding. Here are just a few of them which were received through ITAR-TASS channels.

"The largest defense industry enterprise in Siberia—the Biysk 'Sibpribormash' association—has been completely shut down. This happened after the city's No. 1 TETS [heat and electric power station] switched off the enterprise's steam and hot water. The reason for this was the association's R5 billion debts. 'Sibpribormash' owes the same sum to the power generating industry. In the very first hours the electroplating and powder metallurgy workshops were rendered inoperative and will now cost several billion rubles to restore..."

"One-third of workers and employees of the 'Amurmash' association have been sent on indefinite leave on the minimum salary of R14,620. The enterprise has no funds—the Ministry of Defense owes the association R2.5 billion for the output which it produced over the past three months."

The tragedy of the situation lies also in the fact that the entire social sphere—schools, kindergartens, hospitals, dwelling houses, and so forth—is, as a rule, funded by the defense enterprises. Formerly these facilities were an asset for these plants; today they are a heavy burden. According to specialists' assessments, up to two-thirds of the funds allocated to the defense order are spent on maintaining the social infrastructure and paying wages. But this must be done, and Defense Ministry leaders must treat enterprises' problems with understanding. Otherwise life in these cities would simply be at a standstill—which would, naturally, provoke a mighty social explosion.

The year just gone was not an easy one for the defense industry. It also began with debts. Then the state owed the defense complex R39 billion (somewhere in the order of R300 billion at today's prices), but so far not a kopek has been received for these purposes. So the Ministry of Defense, instead of concentrating all its attention on ensuring the implementation of the approved priorities in military-technical policy, the State Defense Order, and the Long-Term Arms Program, has to spend a great deal of time and energy on literally extorting the proper funds from the government and the Ministry of Finance.

In these conditions, trying to distribute financial resources to enterprises fulfilling the State Defense Order equally is like patching up a caftan—you sew it up in one place, and it tears in another. Nevertheless, last year the Ministry of Defense managed to ensure the funding of a number of the most important weapons systems, thereby preserving the backbone of the defense industry. Whether it will manage to stabilize the situation this year and move forward in a number of areas is a big question. Right now the government is again examining proposals from the Ministry of Defense geared not only toward the swift payment of debts and beginning the advance payment of enterprises, but also at the creation of a mechanism for the regular and timely supply of financial resources aimed at fulfilling the decisions of the president and the Security Council.

### Weather Satellite Launched From Plesetsk 25 Jan

*LD2501070694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0653 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Russia successfully launched the "Meteor-3" meteorological satellite early on Tuesday after the blast off was postponed for three times.

The satellite carries the German "Tubsat" minisatellite and is fitted out with the German "Prare" system and the Russian-French "Skarab" equipment.

The satellite which blasted off from the Russian Plesetsk cosmodrome onboard the "Tsiklon" booster is intended for round-the-clock processing and transmission of hydrometeorological information, as well as of data on radioactivitity in near-earth space and the state of magnetosphere and the ozone layer, TASS was told at the press service of the Russian aerospace forces.

## Media Issues

### ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Publication Suspended 25 Jan

*LD2401204094 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Tomorrow's issue of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI will probably not be published. INTERFAX has learned that the publication of the newspaper was suspended because it has no money to pay for paper and printing.

The situation is explained by the fact that at the end of December the editorial staff took over the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI from the Russian Government. However, the newspaper has not been registered yet and therefore cannot carry out independent financial transactions.

### Ostankino TV Official on 'Economic Solvency'

*LD2401164694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1602 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—The priority task of the Ostankino TV and Radio Broadcasting Company is to develop an economic mechanism for the company's operation under market conditions, Grigoriy Shevelev, who was recently appointed to the post of the company's first deputy chairman, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here on Monday.

Shevelev noted that state television "cannot adapt itself to new economic conditions" up to this time, while budget financing covers only less than 50 per cent of the company's requirements.

He is convinced that a proposal on cutting the volume of broacasting will not yield desired results and is not the only way of tackling the problem.

Stressing that only economic solvency can guarantee true independence to the company, the deputy chairman suggested that this problem be settled by introducing rent for tv programmes.

But, according to his opinion, this is highly improbable in the near future. He supposed that a solution can be found by turning Ostankino into a joint stock society.

In Shevelev's opinion, many organisational and creative problems calling for urgent solutions piled up at the company over the past few years when six chairmen changed at the Ostankino TV station.

He claimed that the plotting of the company's economic, organisational and creative course will be among the first moves by the new leadership.

The leadership, together with the federal service on television and radio broadcasting, intends to participate

in drafting a bill which will define legal guarantees for the operation of the state-owned tv and radio company.

Much attention will be also given to the quality of programmes. "The Ostankino Company is Russia's national asset, and it is impossible for us 'to lower the plank'," Shevelev stressed.

## Economic Issues

### Soskovets: No Radical Changes in Reform Program

*LD2401173594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—The government plans no radical changes in the programme of economic reform in Russia, Russian First Vice-Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets said on Monday.

Soskovets denied mass media reports accusing the government of attempts to overhaul the reform plan. He said the programme will be corrected to make it more socially oriented. "As for the government, having received all levers of economic control from the president, it is ready to bear the responsibility for the transformations in the country," Soskovets said.

He described the current economic situation as extremely difficult. To exemplify his point, he said that out of 650 enterprises in the Yekaterinburg region only 130 pay taxes. To make other enterprises do the same would mean to ruin them. Additionally, the government has only one trillion roubles in tax revenues, while expenditures in the first quarter of the year alone are excepted to reach 8.5 trillion roubles.

Soskovets denied reports that Academicians Leonid Abalkin and Nikolay Petrakov are preparing a new economic programme for the government. "There is only one programme approved by the government last year. It is that programme that the government sticks to," the vice-premier said.

Soskovets said the number of the members of the government Presidium has been reduced by five people. On January 23 Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a document on the new composition of the commission for operative questions. It will include representatives of tax inspectorates, hard currency organisations and bank managers.

He pointed out that the government's orientation to non-monetaristic methods of economic management means its "intention to link the economy with the industrial sphere." He ruled out "spasmodic financial injections in separate industries" in the future, adding that the government will toughen relations with enterprises.

Soskovets said he did not believe former Soviet Vice-Premier Vladimir Shcherbakov have chances of taking up the post of finance minister in the Russian government.

Speaking about the government's relations with the parliament, Soskovets expressed the hope that "members of the cabinet are set to work constructively."

### Central Bank Deputy Chairman on Ruble Panic

*LD2401184294 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Studio interview with Aleksandr Khandruyev, the deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, by announcer Yelena Platonova; from the "Time for Business People" program—live]

[Text] [Platonova] The resignation of the principal reformers of the Russian economy, Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov, may be regarded as the main event of last week. Bowing out as deputy prime minister and finance minister, Boris Fedorov said that the new government of production fetishists would lead the economy to financial collapse in the very near future. We have asked today's guest, Aleksandr Khandruyev, to comment on this pronouncement.

[Khandruyev] It does not really matter whether Boris Grigoryevich [Fedorov] has resigned or not. It seems to me quite simply unethical for a man who has done his utmost to trigger off this financial and budgetary collapse to talk about financial collapse. This is because the budget system is disintegrating. Nobody wants to accept responsibility for what I would call the restoration of a normal tax system, and the collection of taxes and revenue. We have already learned the preliminary results of 1993. They show that the Central Bank has kept all its commitments to the IMF, as expressed in the joint statement with the government, except for one. For technical reasons we were unable to hold a credit auction, although we have already adopted regulations on this auction. Our problem now is simply to free up funds that can be sold at a credit auction. But we have kept all our pledges.

Credit injected into our economy has not exceeded the imposed ceiling. On the contrary, savings have been made. So where have we failed? In only one area—the budget deficit.

[Platonova] Aleksandr Andreyevich, brokers are not confident that the Central Bank has sufficient hard currency at its disposal. Are they wrong?

[Khandruyev] When the Central Bank and the Russian Federation Government signed a joint declaration on economic policy on 24 May last year, we undertook not to maintain the ruble exchange rate by artificial means. However, at the same time, we said that we would use our hard currency reserves to influence the range within

which it would fluctuate. We have abided by this commitment. We saw our main objective as being to prevent abrupt collapses or rises in the ruble rate. Generally speaking, the situation has never got out of control during the last one-and-a-half, two years.

However, the situation that came about at the beginning of 1994 was a result of a coming together of numerous factors—the break between trading sessions [during New Year and Christmas holidays], and the fact that the ruble exchange rate really was too high for a situation in which domestic prices continued to increase. Exports became unprofitable. Furthermore, as I have already said, the hard currency market is still very fragile, very delicate. It influences all sorts of unexpected factors. The possibility that there are certain players on the currency exchange who took concerted action to bring about a sharp fall in the ruble exchange rate cannot be ruled out. In these circumstances the Central Bank has done its utmost to make sure that this process does not become a collapse and to keep the situation under control.

[Platonova] Our next question to Aleksandr Khandruyev is as follows: What, in the Central Bank's view, are the reasons for the slump in output?

[Khandruyev] Well, first and foremost, I would like to agree with my eminent colleague, Igor Sergeyevich Korolev [deputy director of the Institute of World Economy]. I know him well. I agree with his assessment of the factors that are causing, provoking the slump. The Central Bank reckons that the slump is the result of a macroeconomic sickness throughout the economy. The slump is, generally speaking, a natural reaction to the excessively rigid conditions, the structure of the Russian economy, and the impact of budgetary and credit restrictions. It would be simply stupid to think that one could use monetary, budgetary regulators to push through industrial and, in general, structural policies.

When this collapse assumed universal proportions, it became clear that you cannot shell out for everything. Therefore, somebody must accept responsibility for doing the dirty work. If you cannot sustain all areas of production, you must decide which are the most promising and efficient enterprises and sub-industries. This is precisely where you should invest money. The rest must be given time to modernize themselves or to diversify, or else face closure. So much has been said in our country about bankruptcy, but not a single one of the reformers has been willing to take responsibility for initiating the first bankruptcy, even as an example of what should be done—even though they have been going on about this ever since the beginning of last year.

[Platonova] Aleksandr Andreyevich, what does the Central Bank intend to do about GMM [Global Money Management, Inc.]?

[Khandruyev] First and foremost, I would like to agree with my GMM colleague and his view of the article by Mikhail Leontyev in the newspaper SEGODNYA. A real, self-respecting boxer never hits below the belt. But my esteemed GMM colleague is mistaken. Certain banking operations can, in fact, be transacted by a non-banking institution. But, whatever happens, these non-banking institutions must obtain a licence to transact the range of operations listed in the Law on Banks and Banking in the Russian Federation.

A mistake was made right at the start. When the GMM firm registered itself, the organization that registered it should have read through its rules. These rules mention operations that come under the Law on Banking. Before issuing a certificate of registration, this organization should have asked for a banking licence. However, this question is not worth the candle. It would have been enough for the GMM firm to apply to the Central Bank and it would have received this licence—provided, of course, all the documents were in order. Then none of this fuss, so to speak, would ever have happened.

## Federal Assembly

### Yeltsin Appoints Representative at Federal Assembly

*LD2401195194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The Russian president has appointed Aleksandr M.Yakovlev, D.Sc. (Law), Professor of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as his representative at the Federal Assembly.

In an interview with Interfax Monday, Yakovlev said that he would be responsible for interaction between the president and parliamentary structures. He said that the new Russian Constitution provides the right of the legislative initiative for the president. As the president's representative in the Federal Assembly, Yakovlev will represent the legislative initiatives, follow their discussion in parliamentary factions and committees and search for ways for compromises in case of objections.

At the same time he considers it necessary to take care of the "reverse contact," that is of informing the president on sentiments, wishes and complaints of deputies so that the contact be harmonious and there will be no tensions due to thee shortage of information.

According to Yakovlev, he was informed about the new appointment on January 24 by the president's chief of staff Sergey Filatov, who met Yakovlev earlier and informed him of his new duties.

Yakovlev was born in 1927 in Leningrad. He worked for institutes of law (of the Interior Ministry, the Prosecutor General's Office, and the USSR Justice Ministry). Since 1975 he has been working for the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

He has said that performing the duties of the Russian president's representative in the Federal Assembly, he intends to continue his membership in the Learned

Council of the Institute and use the potential of this institution for developing draft laws.

Yakovlev has parliamentary experience because he was deputy to the Soviet Supreme Soviet.

As it has become known to Interfax, he was a co-author of the provision "On the President's Representative in the Federal Assembly." Yeltsin signed the decree on introducing the post to help provide the interaction between the president and the Federal Assembly on January 18.

### Yeltsin Submits Pardon Bill; Deputy Wants Political Amnesty

*MK2501105094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 2*

[Report by Petr Zhuravlev in the "Parliament" column: "President Yeltsin Invites the Duma To Grant an Amnesty; A Communist Representative Calls for the Release of Members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has sent an edict, dated 21 January, On the State Duma Draft Resolution on Granting Amnesty, to the lower house of the Federal Assembly. Using his power to initiate legislation and "taking guidance from the principles of humanism," as the document says, and also following the adoption of the Russian Federation constitution, the president proposes that pardon be granted to those convicted of committing crimes "that do not constitute a great social danger."

As Duma Deputy Chairman Mikhail Mityukov (Russia's Choice) told journalists, what is involved is "a limited range of people" which is "understandable, given the present crime situation in the country." Amnesty will not be granted to those who have been convicted of grave crimes (the edict enumerates 53 articles of the Penal Code), especially dangerous recidivists, those who maliciously break penal colonies rules, and also those who were once amnestied or pardoned but have again found themselves behind bars.

Under the draft, subject to be released are those who "did their service in the active army or formations or took part in actions to protect the Motherland," as well as women, men over age 60, first and second category invalids, and persons serving their sentences for committing inadvertent crimes and sentenced to terms of up to five years (provided they have served not less than one-third of their terms), those under age with terms under three years, and those who have committed premeditated crimes but were also sentenced to terms under three years. The amnesty is also to apply to those convicted with suspended sentences or put on probation.

Commenting on the presidential edict, Mr. Mityukov described it as a reasonable initiative, once again stressing that the proposed amnesty "is fairly limited in scale." The latter assessment is also shared by Viktor Ilyukhin (Russian Federation Communist Party), chairman of the Duma Security Committee, who nonetheless told SEGODNYA's correspondent about his negative attitude to wide amnesties in general. At the same time, Mr. Ilyukhin spoke in favor of granting a "political amnesty" which should, in his view, include the people arrested following last year's (February and March) demonstrations in Moscow, the 3-4 October events, and also defendants in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

The president's edict On the State Duma Draft Resolution on Granting Amnesty is to be considered this week by the House Council (the speaker and faction leaders), then transferred to the committee on legislation and legal reform, and only then, with the requisite comments, be submitted to a full session.

### Yeltsin Halts Construction of New Parliament Center

*LD2501130094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX has learned that President Yeltsin has ordered that development of the plans to build a new parliamentary center in Moscow be suspended. A total of $500 million was previously allocated for the construction.

### Federation Council Supports Changed Economic Reform Course

*LD2401145294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1410 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Subbotin]

[Text] Ulan Ude January 24 TASS—"The Federation Council supports the correction of the course of economic reform," Leonid Potapov, Buryatia's parliament chairman who is also a member of the Federation Council, told a news conference in Ulan Ude on Monday [24 January].

Potapov believes that "revolutionary romanticism, liberalism and monetarism should give way to the processes of state regulation during the transition to a market economy, while personnel changes in the government should correct the course of economic reform to bring it in line with the existing monopolised economy."

He stressed that "pragmatists in the new government can find specialists who will be able to move reforms from 'the worst to the best' and expand the social basis of reform."

At the same time, he pointed to the importance of the constructive opposition to the government on the part of "supporters of radical economic approaches who have resigned."

## Duma Defense Committee Members Listed

*PM2401172794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jan 94 pp 1,2*

["Week In Parliament" article by Vladimir Yermolin: "Parliamentary Committee Teams Manned. Good Luck!"]

[Text] After two weeks of work, the State Duma took a breather until 1 February. It was expected that the deputies would hurry back to their voters to share their first impressions and hear the initial reactions to their activities as deputies, but many parliamentarians remained in Moscow. By no means have all the questions of work and daily life been settled. Setting up in a new place is a complicated business. This also applies to the workplace—who sits where and in what kind of surroundings. You would not give this job to any highly paid assistant.

The committee arrangements, now generally completed, give some idea of the Duma members' aspirations. Let us dwell on two for the moment. The most densely populated is the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finance Committee. According to the latest figures, it will have 43 members. "Russia's Choice" and "New Regional Policy" [NRP] will have the numerical majority, with nine representatives each. The remaining factions are represented by between two and four deputies. It is interesting that before being elected to parliament, 20 of the 43 Duma members who wanted to make their mark in this sphere of legislation were directors of small enterprises or trade houses, chairmen of commercial banks, or presidents of private investment funds: in short, people who understand budgets, taxes, banks, and finance. It is also interesting that even the factions that are ideologically incompatible delegated "private capital" representatives to the committee. The stratum of economists is very thin. The conclusion is that the division in the committee will not be along notorious "monetarist-producer" or "market-state" lines, but where private and corporative interests meet. Perhaps this very committee will set an example of civilized lobbying.

Now a few words about the composition of the Defense Committee. It has been reported that it is headed by Colonel Sergey Yushenkov ("Russia's Choice). His deputies are Nikolay Bezborodov (KPR [Communist Party of Russia]), Yevgeniy Loginov (LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]), and Aleksandr Piskunov (NRP). All three are servicemen. The committee includes four representatives of the NRP, three each from "Russia's Choice," the Communists, and the LDPR, and one each from "Women of Russia," the Democratic Party, and the Agrarians.

And the committee is not so large that it cannot be listed in full: Vladimir Volkov (history teacher from Orsk), Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov (defense and security adviser to the Russian Federation president), Andrey Generalov (president of the trade and industry chamber in Tutayevo), Marina Dobrovolskaya (chairman of the Union of Navy Women), Georgiy Lukava (head of department at the Moscow State Technical University of Civil Aviation), Aleksandr Mikhaylov (chief of the Russian Federation Agriculture Ministry Main Administration for Kolkhozes), Colonel General Yuriy Rodionov (Russian Federation deputy chief military inspector), Yevgeniy Fedorov (serviceman), Nikolay Fedorov (lawyer), Artur Chilingarov (president of the Association of Polar Expedition Members), Sergey Churkin (coordinator of the Vologda LDPR Oblast organization, and Anatoliy Yaroshenko (director of the "Bolsheurinskoye" joint-stock company, Bolshaya Urya, Krasnoyarsk Kray).

It is hard to say how efficient these Duma Defense Committee members will be and how quickly they will set up a legislative mechanism. One thing is clear, though: All members of the Defense Committee, and of the other committees, as a matter of fact, are simply doomed to cooperate. Communists and democrats, reserve sergeants and generals, the young and the experienced—they have all committed themselves to providing laws for the serviceman's life and service and laws that will enable Russia to defend itself and its interests. So all we military people can do is wish the new committee normal, efficient work under the slogan: "Less politics and more laws."

## Duma Committee Urges 'More Realistic' Balkans Policy

*PM2501091994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 3*

[Report by Sergey Sidorov: "Moscow Against Air Strikes on Bosnia"]

[Text] It is in Russia's interest for Serbia-Montenegro to be as strong as possible and for the problems involved in settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to be resolved peacefully. So said Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the State Duma International Affairs Committee, in conversation with journalists after the first parliamentary hearings, held at the end of last week, on a priority area of Russian foreign policy—Yugoslavia.

V. Lukin made it clear that the West's stance on the former Yugoslavia does not conform in all respects with Russia's interests in the Balkan region. Sergey Lavrov, Russian Federation deputy minister of foreign affairs, made the same point when addressing deputies. He emphasized that Russia does not support the idea of air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, as proposed by NATO, and has never ever advocated such methods for resolving the Yugoslav conflict. He reminded people that the UN resolutions permitting coercive measures against any side in the Yugoslav conflict contain tough restrictions. Such measures are possible in the event of an attack on humanitarian aid convoys, violations of the "closed skies" regime by the sides' military aircraft, or the creation of obstacles to the activities of the UN

peacemaking forces. As the Russian diplomat pointed out, the NATO leadership's recent statements of readiness to make strikes against Serbian positions have not contributed to the process of negotiations on the former Yugoslavia. He reaffirmed the immutability of Russia's position on a Yugoslav settlement, which is aimed at a peaceful solution.

While rating the direction of the Russian Foreign Ministry's activities at present as "correct" on the whole, Chairman Lukin recalled that the Foreign Ministry had made a serious mistake by supporting sanctions against the former Yugoslavia last spring. In the opinion of a number of observers, the State Duma is faced with the need to make a clearer assessment of Russian interests in the former Yugoslavia and to elaborate, jointly with the Foreign Ministry, ways of acting that really can result in the unblocking of the Yugoslav conflict. The activation of Russia's policy in the Balkans is becoming increasingly urgent in view of the fact that the West's leadership has virtually led the peace process into an impasse. Moreover, there is a real danger that the military conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina will escalate to an all-Balkan scale.

The idea was voiced in the parliamentary lobby that the time has come for serious consultations both with Western partners and with the most influential Islamic states on the coordination of interests and the implementation of a more realistic policy in respect of the Balkans by a particular group of states. Obviously an alternative does exist to a very dangerous escalation of the conflict and to extremism in Bosnia. It lies in support for those Bosnian leaders, including Muslims, who enjoy the people's support and who have proved the sincerity of their desire for peace.

### Duma Deputy Kovalev Named Human Rights Representative

*LD2401163794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Sergey Kovalev, a State Duma deputy and well-known campaigner, has been appointed a plenipotentiary representative on human rights, Radio Moscow International has reported. Similar institutions of parliamentary missionaries exist in many democratic countries, but it is the first such institution in Russia. The main aim of the new institution is to monitor the work of government offices with the aim of out-of-court protection of human rights, [word indistinct] following up specific complaints made by citizens.

## Regional Affairs

### Chernomyrdin Opens Conference on Central Russian Regions

*LD2501095594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0915 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Orel January 25 TASS—Opening a meeting of leaders from eighteen regions of central Russia here today, Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin said that its purpose was "to draw up a state programme for reviving the regions of central Russia.

He noted in his opening speech that the conference should now devote special attention to the problems of food supply, distribution of productive forces, and the development of the region's agroindustrial complex. According to Chernomyrdin, the state programme for reviving central Russia would be drawn up on the basis of the proposals advanced by regional leaders during the current one-day conference.

Head of the Orel regional administration Yegor Stroyev drew special attention in his report to the need of urgently solving the problem of the disparity of prices for agricultural goods, industrial products, and energy carriers. He said "it will be difficult to feed our country" without developing the national economy of central Russia. Stroyev pointed out that the region's economic problems could be resolved primarily by settling the demographic problem, creating motivations for productive labour, "otherwise the demographic crisis on the territory of Russia proper will become irreversible".

### Visits Agricultural Enterprises

*LD2401201594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1833 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yuriy Likhopek and Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Orel January 24 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin visited several agricultural enterprises in the Orel region, central Russia, on Monday [24 January].

Chernomyrdin is in Orel to attend an agricultural conference opening here on Tuesday. The conference will discuss measures to ensure fuller use of the agroindustrial complex in central Russia and better food supplies to the country as a whole.

The conference, which will be attended by the leaders of the federal bodies of power and administration heads of 18 central Russian regions and their deputies in charge of agriculture, is expected to hear the prime minister's first statement on agricultural policy after recent reshuffles in the government. Informed sources told ITAR-TASS that the conference is expected to result in a government resolution on working out a programme for the development of the agroindustrial complexes of the central Russian regions for the period up to the year 2000.

Today conference participants visited some agricultural enterprises in the Orel region and food-processing factories. They also had conversations with private farmers.

Cherrnomyrdin was accompanied in his trip by Vice-Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Central Bank

chairman Viktor Gerashchenko and Orel regional administration head Yegor Stroyev.

### Agriculture To Be Highlighted

*PM2501102994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 94 First Edition p 2*

[Report by special correspondent Viktor Metchikov under the "Theme of the Day" rubric: "How to Feed the Country?"]

[Text] Orel—In Orel today, the government is holding a conference with the heads of administration of 17 oblasts in central Russia, their deputies responsible for agriculture, and agrarian scientists. Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the government, has arrived to take part in this conference. He is being accompanied on this working visit by Aleksandr Zaveryukha, a vice premier; Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank of Russia Board; and Gennadiy Romanenko, president of the Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Without anticipating speeches that have already been prepared but have yet to be delivered and a final document that has yet to be adopted, let us note that the conference bears a clearly marked "cardiological" character for Russia for two reasons.

First, no matter how the discussion turns out, the utmost attention will be paid to the foundation of the state's life—the agrarian sector.

Second, the 17 oblasts located in the river basins and on the watersheds of the Volga, the Don, the Oka, and the upper Dnieper do indeed form Russia's heartland. They account for only around 4.8 percent of the country's territory, but in 1992, for example, they produced 30.5 percent of gross agricultural output. And, of course, the central region is suffering greatly, as is our whole state.

The difference of opinion over the definition of the main question on the agenda which preceded the conference—an unexpected fuss for an event at this level—was awkward, however.

V. Shuteyev, the head of the Kursk Oblast Administration, described his expectations on the eve of the trip in these terms:

"I want Viktor Stepanovich to confirm his recent promise to settle accounts with country people in January for last year's grain harvest."

I would like to note that even before that, during the election campaign for the Agrarian Party, Vice Premier A. Zaveryukha spoke in Kursk, where he gave the local agricultural aktiv a cast-iron guarantee that the oblast would receive the money for its grain in the next few days. There was a great rush after those words—the cash-starved leaders of rayons and farms really hammered on the doors of the oblast agricultural administration, fearful that they would be too late for the share-out. But so far there has been no sign of the grain payment—around 21 billion rubles.

The miserable transfer of payments between partners on Russia's territory and the lack of credit resources threaten to wreck the spring sowing campaign. There is no money for seed or spares, and 12,000 tonnes of fuel have been stockpiled in Kursk Oblast as against the 182,000 tonnes that are needed. Nor is it clear how the local budget is to provide advances or credit for the purchase of agricultural produce under the new scheme if the local budget does not include sources of finance for that purpose. Furthermore, the long-term questions of the region's development are foundering on the lack of resources. This is what worries V. Shuteyev.

Meanwhile Orel was prepared for a fundamentally different debate. In all the documents and studies prepared here the conference's main idea was formulated thus: "A State Program for the Revival of Central Russia." Ye. Stroyev, head of the Orel Oblast administration, puts the argument like this:

"We are categorically opposed to an analysis which deals with the present-day and relates to the agrarian sector alone. A narrow departmental approach will produce nothing but disaster again. What is needed is not a departmental or technocratic program, but a multisectoral state program that uses all the historically accumulated potential, both economic and cultural.

The oblast leaders' views hardly conflict with one another; some will focus attention on present-day problems, others on the need to take a long-term view. Without sowing our daily bread there will be no long-term progress. But unless we take a long-term view we will, figuratively speaking, sow the wrong thing in the wrong way.

I wonder what medicine will be prescribed in Orel for the agrarian sector and for the entire economy of Russia? Will it enable them to cease being a "black hole," swallowing up financial and other resources and giving nothing in return?

Much depends, clearly, on whether there is at last a sober and honest assessment of the present-day stage of the reforms. Will it be said clearly that what we actually have achieved in the countryside so far is progress of a psychological nature alone: We have accepted private ownership, but that is all. However, the reorganization of kolkhozes and sovkhozes has not actually turned the peasant into a landowner.

"The reforms have taken the path of the misappropriation of property by the leadership"—it was Igor Chukhrayev, deputy chief of the Kursk Oblast Agricultural Administration, who let that phrase slip. We shall be hearing similar opinions increasingly often.

### Chechen Opposition Denies Rumors of Peace Deal With Dudayev

*LD2401204194 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] General Ibragim Suleymenov, chairman of the Chechen National Salvation Committee, has refuted rumors about a peace deal between the armed opposition and General Dzhokhar Dudayev's regime. He said to the ANI agency that the opposition is not going to renounce the use of force, although it would prefer avoiding bloodshed.

Ibragim Sulelymenov said that the National Salvation Committee formations are well armed and have reached agreements about joint actions with other armed groups.

### Chechen Official on Talks With Chernomyrdin on Treaty

*LD2401210294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Among other issues, the Russian and Chechen sides discussed the possibility of a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev at the bilateral talks in Moscow last week, Chechen Prime Minister Mairbek Mugadayev [title as received] told a press conference in Groznyy today.

He said his two-hour meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin focused on a wide range of issues related to the concluding of a treaty on the principles for economic cooperation between Russia and the Chechen Republic. The Chechen official pointed out that "all the issues the Chechen delegation raised before the Russian prime minister were understood and approved. The two sides came to the conclusion that a political settlement and a meeting of the heads of state were needed for the resolution of all economic disputes."

"In turn, V.Chernomyrdin hoped that such a meeting could be held in the near future," Mugadayev said.

The Chechen prime minister said the meeting touched on the possibility of freeing the former speaker of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Chechen citizen Ruslan Khasbulatov accused of organizing the armed uprising in Moscow in early October.

### Tatarstan Head Predicts Bilateral Treaty To Be Signed Soon

*MK2501110094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 94 p 1*

[Interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev by Radik Batyrshin in Kazan under the "Tatarstan" rubric: "We Will Come to a Democratic Federation, President Mintimer Shaymiyev Believes"; date not given]

[Text] On 21 January a meeting of the presidents of Russia and Tatarstan took place. Upon returning to Kazan, Mintimer Shaymiyev gave an exclusive interview to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

[Batyrshin] What can be considered the meeting's main result?

[Shaymiyev] We agreed to speed up the negotiating process as much as possible, because on 13 March new elections to the Federal Assembly will take place in Tatarstan. We believe that Tatarstan should be represented in the Federal Assembly. But in order for the population to turn out actively for the elections, we need to sign a bilateral treaty. Without determining a formula of our relationship, however, expecting the voters to be active would be simply naive.

[Batyrshin] Does the Russian president object in principle regarding the bilateral treaty's text?

[Shaymiyev] The work on the treaty is still going on, which is why we did not consider separate articles of the document, and we agreed that the final version of the text would be considered no later than by the first third of February.

[Batyrshin] What problems exist today in the negotiating process between Moscow and Kazan?

[Shaymiyev] There are no big problems in the work on the treaty text. The main, albeit entirely surmountable, difficulties have emerged in the process of preparing five intergovernmental agreements—on banking activity, the budget, the coordination of the law-enforcement agencies' efforts, on defense matters, and on foreign economic activity. The treaty will not be concluded without these agreements. I think that within 10 days we will be able to complete the work on these agreements and get around to concluding the treaty.

[Batyrshin] Does this mean that Moscow currently recognizes Tatarstan's status as "a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated with the Russian Federation on the basis of the Treaty between the State Authorities of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan on the Mutual Delegation of Powers and Terms of Reference" (a phrasing from the Tatarstan Constitution)?

[Shaymiyev] We are trying to arrive at a formula of a relationship within the framework of the two constitutions that would be a fruit of a compromise.

[Batyrshin] Could you, please, expand on that?

[Shaymiyev] No, because presently the working groups under Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev and Russian Federation Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov are working on it every day, from early morning till midnight. The definitive consideration within the dates I have mentioned will bring about complete clarity.

[Batyrshin] Do the agreements call for the law-enforcement agencies to be brought under Tatarstan jurisdiction or the other way around?

[Shaymiyev] There will be subjects of joint jurisdiction and subjects under Tatarstan jurisdiction. As the consultations have shown, we can easily reach agreement. As with regard to other problems, the republic's independence does not rule out coordination in our work. Presently, a major part of the republic's law- enforcement agencies is under Tatarstan's jurisdiction, but this does not hamper collaboration with the federal authorities. Or why should we have the Internal Affairs Ministry's army units performing federal missions in our subordination?

[Batyrshin] Is Moscow going to accept a one-channel taxation system that has long been favored by Kazan?

[Shaymiyev] Tax relations involve politics, too. For Tatarstan citizens have Russian Federation citizenship and must feel through taxes that they belong to Russia. Earlier, we did not take this matter into account; it is impeccable in legal terms. It is another matter that there are many questions related to the financing of our specific programs, the more so because our republic does not belong to those that receive subsidies.

[Batyrshin] The latest full-scale negotiations between Russia and Tatarstan took place last May. At the time, you were certain that the treaty would be signed by August at the latest. Aren't you afraid that presently the period of accelerated work on the treaty will be followed by nine months of stagnation?

[Shaymiyev] No, because I do not think that Russia is in for last year's upheavals. The sociopolitical situation inside the country is currently favorable for concluding the treaty. In addition, the president and the Russian Government are decisively intent on launching a new regional policy. Decentralization is inevitable. It has been two years since they have refused to give Tatarstan powers, but we took them on our own. Is Tatarstan worse off because of that or not? No one can deny that the situation inside the republic has improved. So, what do we have to be afraid of? I am convinced that Tatarstan's stance paves a way toward the Russian Federation's democratization. We will come to a democratic federation, even now, when many politicians think that Russia is a unitary state.

## Altay Kray Administration Chief Replaced

*PM2401145194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 94 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed "Official" announcement]

[Text] Vladimir Fedorovich Rayfikesht has been relieved of the post of Altay Kray administration chief at his own request by an edict of the Russian Federation president as a result of representations by the Russian Federation government chairman.

Lev Aleksandrovich Korshunov has been appointed to the post of Altay Kray administration chief.

## International Affairs

### Parliament Official Comments on Arms Accord

*LD2401203394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will consider the parliamentary commissions' resolution on the joint statement signed by the Ukrainian, Russian and U.S. presidents in Moscow on January 25.

The Supreme Soviet's presidium discussed this issue in Kiev on Monday.

Leader of the Ukrainian parliament's working group on preparations for ratification of the START-1 treaty, Environment Minister Yuriy Kostenko, said on Monday that he saw neither economic and military "interests of Ukraine" nor guarantees for security in the statement.

He believes that "due to this the Moscow statement should be considered properly and receive a juridical evaluation."

Kostenko explained the fact that the document was signed in a form of a statement requiring no ratification by the parliament as "juridical intriguing" and demanded that deputies determine "whether the Moscow statement was useful for Ukraine."

He added that the Moscow trilateral statement proposed "in fact a new scheme for Ukraine's nuclear disarmament, which differs from the one worked out by the parliament."

"We are moving towards a non-nuclear status. However, we do this in conformity with the interests of Ukraine. The events in Moscow represent not only a military but also an economic and political split within the country rather than nuclear disarmament," the minister believes.

He also stated that Ukraine had already withdrawn to Russia tactical nuclear weapons together with approximately 10 tons of high enriched plutonium and 90 tons of high enriched uranium. In his words, 1 kilogram of plutonium will cost about $1 Mn and 1 kilogram of uranium up to $100,000 on the world market.

"This means that today Russia is Ukraine's debtor and not vice versa. Russia must compensate Ukraine for the tactical nuclear weapons with account taken of the equivalent exchange of the cost of uranium for oil and gas."

### No Resolution Passed on Accord

*LD2501114994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] The Ukrainian parliament's presidium did not pass any resolutions on the Ukrainian, Russian, and U.S. presidents' Moscow statement on nuclear disarmament.

What the three presidents discussed and documented in Moscow is not an agreement, Chairman of the parliamentary Commission for International Affairs Dmitriy Pavlychko told journalists. "Therefore, for the moment we can only state our attitude to this document," he said.

Pavlychko believes that the Moscow statement cannot replace the Ukrainian parliament's resolution. Such a resolution can only be replaced by an agreement, not by a protocol of intent, he said. "We can only ratify an agreement," he added.

Pavlychko also believes that the final decision on the problem will be made by a new parliament. He said that Leonid Kravchuk shared this belief.

### Economy Minister Leads Delegation on U.S. Visit

*LD2401161494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1350 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Kiev—A delegation of 10 Ukrainian Government representatives flew to Washington yesterday on a week-long visit to prepare the ground for a meeting between the U.S. and Ukrainian Presidents. The Washington summit between Leonid Kravchuk and Bill Clinton, already postponed twice, is provisionally scheduled for 12 March. This will be Leonid Kravchuk's third visit to the United States as Ukraine's Supreme Council chairman and president.

The head of the government delegation, Ukraine's Economy Minister Roman Shpek, said in an exclusive interview for UNIAN before departure: "It is too early yet to speak of the size of credits to be granted to Ukraine. However, after hard work with the American side and international financial organizations, Ukraine can count on a total of $2 billion, including a system transformation loan (STL), a stand-by credit, and a rehabilitation loan. It is more important to convince the American side that Ukraine's leadership realizes the depth of the crisis processes in Ukraine and, most significantly, has a political will for reforms."

Roman Shpek said he hopes to convince the Americans of Ukraine's intentions to pursue market transformations by fighting hyperinflation, as well as setting up a Ukrainian bank for reconstruction and development, and a national insurance company to safeguard investments and credits.

The delegation also includes Ukraine's National Bank Chairman Viktor Yushchenko; Deputy Foreign Minister Oleksandr Makarenko; Deputy Finance Minister Borys Sobolev; Serhiy Osyka, deputy minister of external economic relations; Anton Buteyko, adviser to the president of Ukraine for international affairs; Valeriy Pavlyukov, deputy minister of machine-building, military-industrial complex and Conversion; and other experts. According to some reports, Ukraine's Deputy Premier Valentyn Landyk and Minister of Finance Hryhoriy Pyatachenko dropped out of the delegation at the last minute under pressure from the American side.

The program of the visit includes meetings at the U.S. Congress, the State Department, other departments, the Federal Reserve Bank, and the IMF and World Bank headquarters. A total of 20 meetings are planned, Deputy Foreign Minister Oleksandr Danylenko [name and title as received] told UNIAN, as well as the initialing of a bilateral agreement preventing double taxation, and an agreement on promoting and protecting investments. These agreements are to be signed during Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Washington.

"At the IMF, we will discuss the preparation of a program for STL system transformations, which will become a step toward receiving a stand-by loan," Roman Shpek told UNIAN. "If the preparation of the STL program proceeds without delay, the IMF will hopefully approve the relevant documents in four months. At the same time, we will negotiate a rehabilitation loan with the World Bank."

Confidential sources reveal that the success of the visit will also be crucial with regard to the United States granting Ukraine a temporary beneficiary status in the generalized system of preferences which, as a concession in trade relations with the United States, has not been available to any other CIS country.

### Demyanov Blamed for U.S. Firm's Chemical Use

*LD2101210594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1956 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] The Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office blames Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Demyanov for deliberate inflicting ecological damage to the republic, Deputy Prosecutor General Olga Kolinko told a press conference in Kiev today. She described Demyanov's actions as "illegal and destructive," referring to his giving Agriculture and Food Minister Yuriy Karasik his personal consent to using the American chemical "Harness" in the republican agriculture.

She said "such a connivance allowed the American company "Monsanto" to fetch in 2,000 tons of this chemical which is not even registered in the U.S.A. and is banned for use in Ukraine." She also said a criminal case was filed against "state officials of the Agriculture and Health Care ministries" on the fact of the acquisition of this chemical and production of banned chemicals in Ukraine.

In an interview with Interfax-Ukraine, Kolinko said "Ukraine has become a test site for foreign companies where they test their chemicals, and moreover, directly on the fields."

"Monsanto" representative in Kiev, Vladimir Kudryashov, told Interfax-Ukraine that "they did sell some quantity of "Harness" to Ukrainian consumers." He said "had the chemical not been used last year, Ukraine would not have had such a rich harvest of corn." At the same time, he added that the company's office in Kiev will sell the chemical only after its registration in the republic, supposedly this February or March.

### First Land Auction Held With U.S. Aid

*LD2401174194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1350 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Kharkov—On 21 January, the first land auction in Ukraine and the CIS countries to sell the right to lease plots of land was held at the initiative of the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Development, the United Commodities and Raw Materials Exchange, and the City Executive Committee. Due to a lack of applications only five plots of land were auctioned, all of them with the right to be leased for enterprises, instead of the proposed 16, eight of which were granted planning permission to build individual houses and eight to build market infrastructure facilities. A UNIAN correspondent was informed at the Commodities and Raw Materials Exchange that only two plots were sold at the auction, 1,500 and 2,500 square meters in the city center for 700 and 800 million karbovantsi respectively. They were sold at three times the starting price. It is envisaged that in future such auctions will be held regularly.

Asked by a UNIAN correspondent to comment on the course of the auction, the head of the regional state administration, People's Deputy Yevhen Kushnaryov, stated that privatizing land by auctioning was quite ineffective because privatization processes were "hounded out" to become a shadow phenomenon, and were being carried out with official channels by semi-criminal or openly criminal methods. In an exclusive interview with another UNIAN correspondent, Leonid Vasylchenko, the president of the United Commodities and Raw Materials Exchange, noted that the auction was held in accordance with the legislation and no violation of it was recorded.

### Minister Opposes Warhead Transfer to Russia

*AU2401123394 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 2 (44) 20 Jan- 2 Feb 94 p 1*

[Article by Environmental Protection Minister Yuriy Kostenko, head of the deputies' working group for issues of nuclear disarmament: "We Have Given Away $10 Billion to Russia; This Time, It Will Be Even More"]

[Text] **On 12 January, U.S. president Bill Clinton's aircraft touched down at Boryspil Airport. According to numerous preliminary tatements by presidential aides and advisers, as well as by the U.S. press, the visit had not been planned. The press hailed Bill Clinton's intention to visit Minsk and Moscow and asserted that he was not going to visit Kiev because Ukraine was not behaving properly on the nuclear issue. They said that Ukraine would later be summoned to Moscow for negotiations. However, the boss of the White House changed his decision—Kiev's airport was the first of those of the**

**former Soviet republics to receive him. The president took a step backward, but now he wants to take two, three, or four steps forward.**

Against the background of the victory of Zhirinovskiy's party in Russia, the sensational reports on the total elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine do not only give rise to a series of questions, but also to the feeling of anxiety and uncertainty among the citizens of our, and not only our, state.

One cannot fail to see the perfectly obvious contradictions between the decisions adopted by the Supreme Council on the reduction of nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian land and some statements in the agreement about to be signed by the presidents of the three states. For example, in accordance with the Supreme Council decree on the ratification of START I, Ukraine takes upon itself an obligation to destroy 42 percent of its nuclear warheads over seven years. Before he arrived in Kiev, Clinton declared in Brussels that all the warheads would be removed from our territory in the coming two or three years. Therefore, if such an agreement is signed, a quite logical question arises: "Why should Ukraine fulfill all those extremely unprofitable procedures for destroying strategic offensive weapons as envisaged by START I? It is known that its theses were elaborated more than 10 years ago, when the USSR, which manufactured nuclear weapons, was still in existence.

The absence at that time of the effective mechanisms for control over the manufacture of nuclear warheads led to the elaboration of such operations for destroying strategic nuclear forces, which could be clearly pinpointed and controlled. It is precisely for that reason that, in accordance with the agreement, the account for destroyed strategic weapons is made in terms of dismantled launch vehicles and destroyed launch silos and not in terms of destroyed nuclear warheads.

Incidentally, with regard to the latter, the practice of dismantling a training launch silo in Pervomaysk showed that the real economic and ecological losses exceeded the worst predictions. All those who saw the photographic illustration of this barbaric action in IZVESTIYA of 11 January 1994 could judge for themselves.

Well, in view of the fact that Ukraine does not manufacture its own nuclear warheads, the removal of nuclear warheads from our territory also automatically signifies the elimination of the strategic offensive weapons. Even if entire strategic missiles remained in complete launch silos, with such a missile we would, perhaps, be able to launch, instead of a nuclear warhead, nothing more than nuclear waste from the Chernobyl sarcophagus.

However, here a clear position is necessary—either we pursue a stage-by-stage reduction of our nuclear arsenals in accordance with previous terms, or destroy nuclear warheads alone without ruining those things that may still serve our state, namely the launch vehicles and the launch silos.

Yet another important issue with regard to new initiatives is the problem of compensation for nuclear disarmament. The sum of material assistance promised by Mr. Clinton cannot be compared to the losses that Ukraine has sustained. I will analyze just one aspect of this problem. The highly enriched uranium and weapons-grade plutonium are the most valuable materials of the nuclear warhead. It is impossible to determine the market price of these materials, because their sale is forbidden by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. At the same time, in accordance with some estimates, the known expenditure on the production of highly enriched uranium and plutonium are, respectively, up to $100,000 and up to $1 million per kilogram. Together with the tactical weapons, Ukraine has already handed over to Russia more than 50 tonnes of weapons-grade plutonium, which, according to the minimum estimate, **is worth over $10 billion. This indebtedness of Russia to Ukraine would be enough to compensate for the deliveries of energy resources to us for more than a year.**

As regards the new agreement, the proposals that the highly enriched uranium from the strategic missile warheads be processed at Russian enterprises and that Ukraine be repaid with low-grade uranium in the form of fuel for nuclear power stations are economically unprofitable for Ukraine. The low-grade uranium is worth about a hundredth of the highly enriched uranium. On the other hand, in accordance with the concept of the development of nuclear power engineering in Ukraine, it would be economically expedient to manufacture our own fuel cartridges for the nuclear power stations. It would, therefore, be best to process highly enriched uranium in Ukraine. This is corroborated by the proposals from the well-known U.S. General Atomic Company, which proposed that a joint enterprise on manufacturing fuel for nuclear power stations be organized in Ukraine.

The cost of such an enterprise would be just $30 million. Besides, after completing the program for processing the highly enriched uranium into low-grade uranium, this enterprise might be used within the technological cycle of our own capacities for manufacturing fuel for nuclear power stations. Unfortunately, the leadership of our state ignored these proposals. It is necessary to return to this issue.

One more commentary on the new initiatives. The fact that Ukraine is presently in a certain degree of international isolation is not due to nuclear weapons, as some people are trying to prove, but to the absence of any reforms. That is why, had there been conditions in Ukraine favorable for efficient entrepreneur activity and not stagnation with corruption and bribery, there would not have been such a thing as the so-called "Ukrainian syndrome," which allegedly scares away investors.

Speaking about the nuclear weapons of the former USSR, Western entrepreneurs and politicians are not so much concerned about the availability of nuclear

weapons, as about the possible coming to power in Russia of Mr. Zhirinovskiy.

### Landyk: Nation Ready To Join CIS Economic Union

*LD2501080294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo January 25 TASS—Ukraine plans to announce at the regular CIS summit this March its decision to accede fully to the economic union of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Ukrainian Vice-Premier Valentin Landyk told the Japanese newspaper "NIHON KEIZAI". His interview is published in today's issue of the daily.

"The Ukrainian leader," the newspaper says, quoting his pronouncements, "has stressed that his republic should rely primarily on relations with the states of the former Soviet Union and the East European nations in order to improve the economic situation in the country.

"To make the CIS economic union function effectively," Landyk believes, "it is necessary, first and foremost, to create a system for mutual settlements, based on a specialised inter-state bank."

### Black Sea Fleet Concerned Over Radetskyy Remarks

*LD2401214194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2001 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] On behalf of the Black Sea Fleet Command its press center expressed apprehensions in connection with some statements made by the Ukrainian Defense Minister, General Vitaly Radetskyy.

On January 20 the newspaper KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI published a report on the meeting between Radetskyy and top officials of mass media in Kiev on January 18. During the meeting, the newspaper says, Radetskyy stated that he "would not like to liberate Crimea like the Americans liberated Kuwait."

Approving the fact that the general had no such an intention, the Black Sea Fleet press center at the same time "considers the mere idea of holding any military operations on the peninsula to be dangerous."

The Black Sea Fleet Command hopes that military exercises of the Ukrainian Armed Forces from January 24 to January 27 have no relation to the above mentioned quotation and to presidential elections in Crimea.

According to the combat preparation plan of the Ukrainian Armed Forces for 1994, from January 24 to January 27 the exercises on territorial defense will be held under the guidance of the commander-in-chief, President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk. During the exercises the Armed Forces will work on the interaction of the armed forces, the national guard, the border and the civil defense troops. There will be no large-scale movement of troops.

### Israeli Minister Holds Talks on Cooperation

*AU2201182094 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 19 Jan 94 p 5*

[Unattributed report: "If a Criminal Escapes From Ukraine to Israel, He Will Not Get Away With It"]

[Text] Ukrainian Minister of Internal Affairs Andriy Vasylyshyn held fruitful negotiations with Moshe Shahal, Israeli minister of police, power engineering, and infrastructure, who visited Ukraine at the invitation of his Ukrainian colleague. The coordinated text of the Accord on the Cooperation in Crime Prevention and Law-Enforcement Activity Between the Governments of Ukraine and Israel was initialed.

The leaders of the two law-enforcement departments especially discussed the problems of drug trafficking and [illegal] arms trading.

### Ambassador Discusses Involvement in FRY Sanctions

*LD2201105994 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 22 Jan 94*

[Text] Brussels, 21 Jan—Volodymyr Vasylenko, Ukraine's ambassador to the Benelux countries, met Ambassador Napolitano [name as received], coordinator of EC/CSCE sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The sides discussed a wide range of issues connected to Ukraine's participation in implementing UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. Individual attention was paid to cooperation by the customs and border services of Ukraine with the authorities of Danube countries and with the missions for facilitating sanctions in these countries, and to the possibilities of rendering financial and technical assistance to Ukraine, which is needed for efficiently securing the sanctions regime.

The Ukrainian ambassador drew Napolitano's attention to the necessity of stepping up the search for practical ways of compensating losses experienced by third countries, including our state, as a result of introducing sanctions against Yugoslavia.

### Foreign Ministry Protests Romanian Reports

*LD2201153894 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1348 GMT 22 Jan 94*

["Statement by Ukrainian Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The press center of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry reports that certain misleading reports about Ukraine have recently been carried by the mass media in Romania, citing officials of that country.

Such reports and statements are yet another attempt to deceive the world public and divert attention from the purely domestic problems currently experienced by Romanian society.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry reserves the right to respond to such reports appropriately.

## National Affairs

### Kravchuk Views Relations With Parliament

*WS2101172694 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] At a ceremony opening the Kiev commodity exchange attended by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, journalists asked the president numerous questions. Following is the Ukrainian president's reply to a question of major concern for the entire Ukrainian society—What are the relations between the president and the Ukrainian Supreme Council in the wake of the tripartite agreement on Ukraine's nuclear disarmament signed in Moscow?

[Begin Kravchuk recording] We have satisfied parliament's reservations. This is a very important fact that could no longer be undone. The executive branch was proceeding down the path of implementation and not of obstruction of the parliament's decisions. Yes, we made some compromises and concessions. But how else could you handle this? All of us—Russia, the United States, and Ukraine—compromised. That's how it is in politics.

Generally speaking, I did expect to meet with the opposition. You see, they were making reports from papers, and then they called me and the entire executive branch so many names that I could hardly be seen from under them. They said Traitor! [word indistinct] Sold out national interests! However, none of them read the document. I know there always are people like this. But you have to be very careful if you want to be a serious politician, and be a part of big politics.

I want them to know that first, politicians draw conclusions only after they have read a document; second, they always reckon with the overall situation, possibilities, and [word indistinct] of Ukraine.

Let me tell you the following—those who propose or call for not bringing nuclear weapons out of the country for Ukraine to become a nuclear country [words indistinct] They want to make Ukraine a hostage and sentence its people to death. Everyone must realize that. And no requests or slogans can change anything, because Ukrainian television has recently shown ministers, [word indistinct], scientists, and other people. They revealed facts proving that Ukraine had made the only possible correct step. [words indistinct] we have to do, we will do without losing our power and [words indistinct] But this [words indistinct] overcome [words indistinct] This might be [word indistinct] wish. (?These are the first steps) Those who so strongly voice their demand that Ukraine remain a nuclear state and keep its nuclear weapons—whether they want to or not—turn Ukraine into a hostage, with its people sentenced to death. [end recording]

### Parliament Debates Privatization Program

*WS2101191394 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Plenary meetings of the ninth Ukrainian Supreme Council session are continuing. In the morning, deputies began debates over the state privatization program submitted to the parliament by the Cabinet of Ministers. Volodymyr Pylypko, chairman of the State Property Fund, delivered a report. Another report was presented by Volodymyr Konopchuk, head of the legislative commission for economic reforms. Both deputies answered their colleagues' questions. Since the above reports and their subsequent discussion contained a number of specific proposals, it was decided to revise the plan and to make a final decision at the following session. Today, the Supreme Council examined and adopted [word indistinct] Code of Ukraine, the Law on the State Secret, and the Law on Procedures for Travels of Ukrainian citizens in and out of Ukraine. It also approved in the first reading the draft law on (?informational protection) and [words indistinct]. The session's plenary meeting will be resumed on 25 January. On 24 January, deputies will be working in legislative commissions on the draft of the state budget, the main constitutional provisions, the state authority organization, and self-government in Ukraine.

### Further on Parliament Session

*LD2101173494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1450 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Kiev—Volodymyr Pryadko, chairman of the board of the State Property Fund of Ukraine, reported at the plenary session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on 21 January that in accordance with the draft state privatization program, there are plans to privatize 20,000 facilities of unfinished construction and 8,000 medium and large enterprises in 1994. It is envisioned that as a result of implementing the proposed program, the share of the non-state sector in the economy will come to 28 percent and that the state will receive over 21 trillion karbovantsi and approximately $230 million. Delivering a report, Volodymyr Pylypchuk, chairman of the Supreme Council commission for issues of economic reform and management of the national economy, mentioned 11 observations regarding the draft of the said program, and stressed the necessity of applying administrative penalties to officials who disregard the privatization process. After Supreme Council commissions have elaborated the draft, taking into account proposals expressed by people's deputies during the discussion, it will be resubmitted for hearings during the next plenary cycle of sessions.

A law "On the procedure for leaving and entering Ukraine for citizens of Ukraine" was adopted. It envisions simplification of the procedure for formalizing exit documents. Speaker Valentyn Nedryhaylo, first deputy minister of internal affairs of Ukraine, replied to questions on the investigation in the affair of the disappearance of Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, head of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh] secretariat. Four main versions of the disappearance are being worked on, additional ones have appeared, and Interpol and investigative bodies from CIS countries have joined the investigation, but so far, according to Valentyn Nedryhaylo, "new signals have not been received." A law "On state secrets" was adopted without fundamental changes; the law "On data protection in automated systems" was approved in its first reading, and the Forestry Code of Ukraine, which was adopted, will come into force from the day of publication.

The next plenary session of the Supreme Council will take place on 25 January.

## Officials Report to Supreme Council on Budget

*LD2101160694 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2210 GMT 20 Jan 94*

[Excerpts] Kiev, 20 January—At the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, First Deputy Economy Minister Valentyn Popov delivered a report on the plan of the social and economic development of Ukraine for 1994.

Popov pointed out that the crisis in the country has exacerbated. According to preliminary data, the gross domestic produce in 1993 was just over 104 trillion [figure as received] karbovantsi, down 15 percent from 1992.

On the subject of privatization, Popov noted that the process of privatization accelerated at the end of last year. Of the total number of the facilities privatized, 1,070 were state-owned and 1,554 in communal ownership.

As for the official karbovanets exchange rate, Popov informed the audience it was planned that the karbovanets exchange rate would be raised to 16,000 karbovantsi to a dollar this year by increasing production, maintaining coal prices throughout the year, and lowering the norm of money income by 20 to 25 percent.

It was envisaged that prices this year would rise by 4.45 percent.

It was also envisaged that 28 million tonnes of oil, almost 84 billion cubic meters of gas, and 16.8 million tonnes of coal would be imported and 437 million dollars worth of nuclear fuel purchased this year. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko reported on the draft state budget for 1994.

The budget submitted makes no provision for deficit, with both its revenue and expenditure at 352.1 trillion karbovantsi.

In the budget, it is planned that 112 trillion karbovantsi, or 37.6 percent, will be allocated to social security and the socio-cultural sphere, 37.4 trillion to education, almost 100 trillion to financing the national economy, and almost 16.9 trillion to defense needs. Provision is made for an additional 1 trillion to be allocated to eliminating and reducing strategic offensive arms. It is planned that 15.8 trillion will be allocated to the needs of Chernobyl.

Three trillion karbovantsi were allocated to the needs of executive power and 384.4 billion to the maintenance of the Supreme Council.

A 30 percent reduction in the executive power apparatus and a 62 percent increase in the apparatus of the Supreme Council are planned.

## Law Specifies Punishment for Crimes Against State

*AU2401134094 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Jan 94 p 3*

["Ukraine's Law on Intensifying Criminal Responsibility for Some Crimes Against the State" issued in Kiev on 24 Dec 93]

[Text] In order to intensify the protection of the constitutional system and territorial integrity of Ukraine, as well as public security, Ukraine's Supreme Council resolves as follows:

Articles 56-1, 62, and 71 will read as follows:

"Article 56-1. Actions aimed at changing by force or overthrowing the constitutional system or seizing state power, as well as conspiracy to commit such actions—

"are punishable by imprisonment of between five and 15 years with confiscation of property.

"Public calls for changing the state power by force or overthrowing state power, as well as dissemination of materials calling for such actions—

"are punishable by five years' imprisonment or a fine of up to 100 times the minimum wage.

"Actions specified by Part 2 of this article that are committed by a representative of power, repeated, or committed by a group of people as a conspiracy—

"are punishable by imprisonment of between three and eight years";

"Article 62. Encroachment upon Ukraine's territorial integrity:

"Deliberate actions committed for the purpose of changing the territory or state borders of Ukraine in

violation of the procedure established by the Ukrainian Constitution, as well as public calls or dissemination of materials with calls to commit such actions—

"are publishable by imprisonment of up to five years.

"The same actions, if committed by a representative of power or by a group of people as a conspiracy, or if they involve incitement of ethnic or regilious hostility—

"are punishable by imprisonment of between three and 10 years.

"Actions specified by parts 1 and 2 of this article that have resulted in loss of life or other grave consequences—

"are punishable by imprisonment of between 10 and 15 years";

"Article 71. Mass disorders:

"The organization of state disorders, which involve violence against the individual, pogroms, arson, destruction of property, resistance to representatives of power with the use of weapons or other objects used as weapons, or active participation in mass disorders—

"is punishable by imprisonment of between two and 12 years.

"Such actions that result in loss of life or other grave consequences—

"are punishable by imprisonment of between 10 and 15 years."

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk [as published, laws are usually issued by the Supreme Council and signed by its chairman Ivan Plyushch]
[Dated]Kiev, 24 December 1993

## Kravchuk Leads Exercise of Power Ministries

*LD2401204994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1825 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 24 Jan—The first strategic exercise which started today under the leadership of the supreme commander of the Ukraine Armed Forces, President Leonid Kravchuk, is called upon to resolve the tasks of territorial defense.

Its aim, the press service of the Ukraine military department announced, is to work out the interaction between the ministries of defense, internal affairs, the security service, the National Guard, border troops and the civilian defense of Ukraine.

Leonid Kravchuk drew the attention of the leaders of the power ministries to the importance of such an exercise, and directed them to fulfill with quality the tasks set and to the need to give an objective appraisal of the work done.

Under the plan for conducting the exercise, the press service of the Ukraine Ministry of Defense notes, the use of troops is not envisaged.

## Radetskyy Outlines Army's Future Development

*PM2401164394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 94 First Edition p 4*

[Journalist Konstantin Marchenko report: "Ukraine Will Have Its Own General Staff and Will Remain a Space Rocket Power, Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy Declared"]

[Text] Kiev—The reforming of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is complete, the Ukraine's army general told journalists. The plan for their organizational development, which consists of three stages, is starting to be implemented.

The plan has been designed through the end of 1995. The independent state's Army will finally acquire its own budget. The minister confirmed that by that time the Ukrainian Armed Forces will have a strength of 450,000 men. The Main Staff is being transformed into the General Staff, although the general complained of a certain shortage of cadres, particularly in the operational-strategic component. He reported that foreign experience, including Russia's, had been taken into account in the process of forming the General Staff.

Vitaliy Radetskyy described as correct the decision on the nuclear weapons located on Ukrainian territory. He emphasized, however, that Ukraine is a space rocket power, since it is capable of manufacturing its own rocket to put a satellite into orbit. The minister said that Ukraine must create modern deterrent forces equipped with highly accurate weapons.

Vitaliy Radetskyy drew his audience's attention to the problem of reducing conventional arms in accordance with the 1990 all-European treaty. He believes that these quotas are rather too low now, after the breakup of the USSR. Not only for Ukraine but also for Russia, particularly on the southern flank of its defense. The minister proposed two ways out of the impasse: a revision of the accords or the creation of new types of arms. In artillery, for example, if the reductions affect guns with a caliber of 100 mm and above, then guns with a caliber of 99 mm should be put into production.

The minister described the problem of the Black Sea Fleet as very complex. He declared: "It is closely connected with the situation in Crimea. I, a Ukrainian citizen, believe that there can only be one president in our state. I believe that it will be harder to find the solution here than in the case of nuclear weapons." Vitaliy Radetskyy ruled out the possibility of an armed conflict in Crimea and also the possibility of Russia's strong-arm intervention.

He also emphasized the nonbloc nature of Ukraine's military policy, stressing that it has no intention of being

a younger or middle brother but intends to build equitable relations. He cited as an example Uzbekistan, which is prepared to supply cotton uniforms in exchange for Ukraine's repairing its military hardware. Turkmenistan is prepared to pay with oil and gas in exchange for the training of military cadres.

### Defense Minister Briefs Press on Armed Forces

*AU2101123994 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Jan 94 pp 1, 6*

[Borys Lyubyaz report on news conference by Ukraine's Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy; place and date not given: "We Are a Great Space-Missile Power"]

[Text] Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy held a news conference for leaders of the mass media. In a free and easy atmosphere, the minister briefed journalists about the problems with which the personnel of Ukraine's Armed Forces are confronted. Analyzing the past year, the minister listed, among positive aspects, the fact that the Armed Forces have finally received their Military Doctrine, specified their numerical strength, and appointed Armed Forces Day—6 December. Over the last year, the Supreme Council, president, and government issued about 100 laws, decrees, edicts, and directive dealing with the army. Temporary statutes for the troops were adopted.

Much has been done for the reduction of the Armed Forces. While at the end of 1991, there were 726,000 military formations, their number has now decreased by one-third. The reduction will continue. By the end of 1995, the Armed Forces will have 450,000 servicemen.

By now, 603 tanks, 630 infantry fighting vehicles [IFV] and armored personnel carriers, as well as 750 helicopters and aircraft have been scrapped. By the end of 1995, Ukraine will have up to 4,080 tanks, 5,050 IFV, 4,040 units of artillery, and 1,090 aircraft.

Ukraine is fulfilling a peace-keeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Recently, the Supreme Council adopted a decision to increase the numerical strength of the Ukrainian battalion there to 1,220 persons. In this connection, yet another battalion is being brought up to strength and contracts are being concluded with servicemen. This means that regular-service soldiers will not be enlisted for this subdivision. The defense minister expressed surprise that parents are asking their sons to be sent precisely to that dangerous region.

"Perhaps, because their income is greater than yours," suggested one of the journalists.

The minister made a calculation: "If a soldier receives between $500 and $600 a month, whereas the minister's salary is $67, the reason for the enthusiasm may well be understood."

The army still has no single command system. When it is created, and this will take place between 1995 and 1996, the air-defense and air force troops will be unified.

At present, the army is in the process of introducing the Ukrainian language. At any rate, the orderly officers in subunits report in the state language, and the combat training also proceeds with the help of the Ukrainian language. The problem lies in assimilating the military terminology.

The minister fully supported the Ukrainian president's concluding the tripartite agreement, because nuclear warheads are deployed in our troops, but they are controlled and also serviced outside Ukraine. Why should Ukraine need weapons, which cannot help, but only create problems, which cannot be resolved by us. Isn't it better to transfer them away from Ukraine? All the more so since the state will receive compensation for them.

At the same time, Ukraine remains a great space-missile power. We have everything necessary for creating missiles, which may be launched into space. We are capable of launching artificial satellites for communication purposes, for agricultural needs, and, it goes without saying, for resolving military problems.

The minister also touched upon numerous questions of military building and answered journalists' questions.

### Nuclear Power Stations Record 239 Accidents

*AU2401141694 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Jan 94 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Atomic Electric Power Plants [AES] Are Coming to Our Help"]

[Text] As reported by Ukraine's State Committee for Atomic Energy, last year, Ukrainian nuclear plants produced 75,238,900 kilowatt/hours of electricity. This is 111 percent of what was planned. The energy output of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power station accounted for 42.76 percent of the total amount of electricity produced by all the nuclear power stations.

At the same time, the extension of the period of maintenance work at the Khmelnytskyy nuclear power station and individual faults in the operation of all of the nuclear power stations led to the failure to produce 8,071,110 kilowatt/hours more. Last year, a total of 239 accidents were recorded at nuclear power stations. As a result of 62 of them, power units were halted, and 109 led to power reductions. None of the accidents involved an increase in the radioactive background at the stations or around them.

In 1993, the share of the energy produced by Ukrainian nuclear power stations increased again. While in 1990, it amounted to 25.7 percent; in 1991—27.1 percent; and in 1992—29.4 percent; in 1993, it reached 32.9 percent. Since 18 January 1994, five Ukrainian nuclear power

stations have been producing 42 percent of the total daily output of electric energy. Problems with deliveries of organic fuel are making themselves felt.

### Reformer Group Holds Conference in Kharkov

*LD2101232494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2115 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Kharkov—On 21 January, the first all-Ukrainian conference of the Interregional Bloc of Reforms began its work in Kharkov. Taking part in it are more than 600 representatives of the regional organizations of political parties and movements, entrepreneurial and industrial structures, foundations and public organizations from Odessa, Poltava, Sumy, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Zhytomir, Nikolayev, Kiev, and other cities of Ukraine. One of the co-chairmen of the bloc, Volodymyr Hrynyov, people's deputy of Ukraine and chairman of the "Nova Ukrayina" [New Ukraine] association, emphasized that the goal of the future strong parliamentary coalition, which the bloc expects to reach at the March election to the Supreme Council, should be order and the market in Ukraine. He believes that ways toward this lie in privatization, improvement of the financial system, establishment of equal economic relations with Russia, changes within the authority institutions, and the priorities of the private sector. The conference is planned to approve an appeal of the Hrynyov-Kuchma bloc to the citizens of Ukraine on the election eve and a "Declaration on the goals and principles of the activity of the Interregional bloc of reforms." The four fundamental provisions of the "Declaration..." envision the following: priority of human rights and freedoms, creation of a civilized market society in Ukraine on the principles of private ownership of land and the means of production, refusal from any attempts to build a state with national and ethnic priorities, refusal of the policy of confrontation with Russia and other CIS countries. Also, the conference delegates will take part in the work of the "Kharkov Business Assembly."

### Reform Bloc Sets Priorities

*MK2201131094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 94 p 3*

[Vladimir Skachko report: "Ukraine Should be Russia's Ally. Kuchma-Grinev Bloc Conference Begins"]

[Excerpt] The first All-Ukraine Conference of the Interregional Bloc of Reforms [IBR] created by former parliament speaker Volodymyr Grinev and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma started work on 21 January 1994 in Kharkov. The objectives of this event were clearly defined by Volodymyr Grinev: first, to create an organ that would coordinate the activities of regional structures of the IBR. Second, to draw up program-concept documents that could be offered to voters. Third, to set a date for the next conference, which would determine the optimum line of conduct for candidates for election as people's deputies.

Grinev, who read out a report, clearly defined the IBR's strategic line—orientation to the regions because it is they that come to the fore in the real processes taking place today in Ukraine, while "the sum of the center's errors has exceeded the level beyond which these errors constitute a threat to the state." Grinev defined as one of the IBR's main tasks "to transfer managerial cadres from the regions to the center." According to Grinev, the bloc's banner should be order and a market system in which a market-based economy based on the inviolability of private property would function in full measure, and state authority would efficiently control all the processes in society. Volodymyr Grinev motivated his point of view by the fact that Ukraine would yet for a long time have this peculiar dualism: the coexistence of the private and government sectors of the economy.

Grinev also defined three main principles of the interregional bloc's activity. First is a market-based economy which is supposed to pass the three stages: financial stabilization, privatization, and structural adjustments. Second, the development in Ukraine of a multinational state which would realize the interests of the entire population rather than those of some ethnic groups. Third, Ukraine should proceed from the fact that it is a strategic and geopolitical ally of Russia. This strategic alliance, according to Grinev, consists in the fact that Ukrainian goods would for a long time find only Russian markets, and Ukraine and Russia can and should act as stabilizing factors in Eastern Europe and to assist its speedy integration in European processes. [passage omitted]

### Approves Plan for Elections

*LD2401191694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1350 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Kharkov—On 22 January the all-Ukrainian conference of the Interregional reform bloc (the Hrynyov-Kuchma bloc) ended with a meeting of the Kharkov business assembly. The conference approved a program of actions "Ukraine's path toward economic revival, a civil society and civilized state," a declaration about the aims and principles of the bloc's activity and an appeal to Ukraine's citizens. At the basis of these documents lies the assertion of the indisputability of immediate economic reforms in Ukraine and of normalizing economic relations with Russia and other CIS countries. At the next conference which is planned for the end of February in Dnepropetrovsk, there will be a gathering of parliamentary candidates who have been nominated and supported by the bloc.

At a news conference after the end of the assembly, people's deputy and co-founder of the bloc Volodymyr Hrynyov, stressed: Democratic and centrist forces do not have the right to lose the upcoming elections; young and energetic political leaders from the regions where, in his opinion, the state's new economic policy will be formed, should be elected to the new parliament.

**Conservative Republican, Civic Congress Platforms**

*LD2401230094*

[Editorial Report] Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 24 January carries a 20-minute pre-election program with people's deputy Stepan Khmara, leader of the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, followed by Mr. Bazelyuk, cochairman of the Civic Congress of Ukraine.

Khmara starts by saying that the Ukrainian people have achieved their long-time aim of independence but unfortunately, in the two years of independence, Ukraine has experienced poverty while a small group of "swindlers" and "criminals" has become rich very quickly. He adds that these criminals have even succeeded in penetrating the power structures. He blames the present difficulties on the people in power and outlines the reasons why this occurred: "The basic political issue, the issue of power, was not resolved. The old and most corrupt members of the nomenklatura remained in power. Its behavior is impudent. They quickly plundered the national wealth." To prove his point he says: "Even ministers and those like former Minister of Energy Sklyarov, who is now abroad and also a minister of the Cabinet of Ministers and personal friend of former premier Kuchma has left state employment and is living in France on plundered funds. The list is endless." Khmara goes on to say that it is only through a change in power that effective economic reforms may be introduced. These could give the people an opportunity to live off the wealth which it creates. He speaks out in favor of private property saying that privatization should be a means of giving people the opportunity to realize their right to private property and not simply an end in itself. "We support widespread reforms in the agricultural sector of the economy that is of strategic value to Ukraine, but we are categorically against selling land to foreigners. We support the creation of real cooperatives and also of conditions for private farming. We support the revival of historical and social justice, that is, so that peasants have the right to own land, that there should be a market in land. They should be able to either bequeath it or sell it."

Stepan Khmara also dwells on the problems of Ukraine's security focusing chiefly on the joint statement signed by the presidents of Ukraine, America and Russia on 14 January in Moscow. By signing the statement, President Kravchuk "in effect carried out an act of capitulation, acted in contravention of Ukraine's national interests, inflicted significant losses to the national security and violated those legislative acts which Ukraine's Supreme Council had approved, in particular the resolution of 18 November 1993, according to which Ukraine would nevertheless remain a nuclear state but would not contravene the treaty on reducing nuclear weapons," says Khmara. He goes on to accuse President Kravchuk of "committing a state crime" according to the article 56 of the criminal code. This, he says, is state treason. It is possible, he adds, for Ukraine to develop its own system of controlling nuclear weapons and it could be done in a short space of time. Failure to possess nuclear weapons could lead to a "loss of statehood and authority in the international arena." It is not necessary to wait for the elections to change things, says Stepan Khmara. Ukrainians could try to impeach the president, demand the dismissal of his entourage, and put the president on trial. For this reason, says Khmara, "I call on Kievites to go to the Supreme Council tomorrow, to express your resolute will because tomorrow this issue will be examined by the Supreme Council and you should say, yes to a nuclear status for Ukraine and say away with Leonid Kravchuk and his criminal entourage."

The second part of pre-election broadcast program features 10-minutes of remarks by Mr. Bazelyuk, cochairman of the Civic Congress of Ukraine.

Sharply critical of the independence of Ukraine, its results after two years, and the mere need for it, the speaker says that the Ukrainian people's living standards after two years of independence have gone down tenfold, being now threatened by "famine, poverty and cold," aggravated by the general decline in the economy, hard hit by the energy crisis, growing unemployment, delays in paying wages, and deterioration of educational, cultural, and scientifical standards.

On the subject of the nuclear disarmament deal, signed by the Ukrainian, Russian, and U.S. presidents in Moscow on 14 January, he proclaims that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is a "man of no consequence summoned up to Moscow" to sign the deal and is—together with President Boris Yeltsin—totally subordinate to President Clinton, "something like a general secretary to them, except that the Central Committee is now in Washington".

Regretful about the grandeur of the former USSR in general and on the arms trade market as a major source of state revenue in particular, he denounces "the bureaucracy" as "a traitor" to the Motherland, that disintegrated the Soviet Union "as the result of a criminal conspiracy." Saying that the collapse of the Soviet Union puts Western democracies at advantage, he points out that "it is much easier to deal with leprechaun states that merely have an appearance of being independent but can in reality be oppressed and colonized." He once again suggests that "it is now after all the bureaucracy that is the adversary of Ukrainian independence. The bureaucracy was strong in the USSR and is equally strong here in Ukraine. The same applies to Russia. It is the bureaucracy, rather than the Muscovites or Russians, that is the adversary of Ukrainian independence." It is "totally unaccountable to its own people, robbing them with every round of inflation, with the state having neither the helm nor the sails and lacking its own ideology, unless it is screaming nationalism that is this ideology", he says.

He concludes by congratulating the audience "on the glorious 340th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Council"

that took the decision to unite Ukraine and Russia, and appeals: "With Russia for ever!"

## Peasant, Socialist Parties Present Platforms

*LD2101224994*

[Editorial Report] Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 20 January carries the program "Approaching Elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine." The program features the platforms of the Peasant Party of Ukraine and the Socialist Party of Ukraine. Each party has been given a 10-minute slot on the program during which it can present its views.

The announcer begins by introducing the Peasant Party of Ukraine and the Socialist Party of Ukraine whose candidates have been nominated to run in the upcoming election to the Supreme Council. The Peasant Party is represented by its chairman Serhiy Dovhan, and the Socialist Party by Oleksandr Moroz, chairman of its political council, and Volodymyr Marchenko, member of the political council presidium.

The Peasant Party, according to its chairman Dovhan, has a membership of more than 70,000 members among rural working collectives. He says that the party decided not to join any election alliances with other political organizations. "Our party's position is strictly centrist." He continues: "If our plans and our program are shared by other parties and movements, we are ready to join forces to solve the global task of working out a political and economic course to take Ukraine out of its deep and prolonged crisis."

This anti-crisis course, in the Peasant Party's view, must start with the provision for a steady development of the agrarian sector. "Our party has a specific program and will be able to take Ukraine out of the difficult economic crisis within the next two years. We will ensure that our people are provided with food at the level of 1992, and then make sure that Ukraine progresses to a higher grade and becomes a serious food producer on the world market."

The party's election objectives are outlined as follows: "First of all, to provide legislation guaranteeing accession to civilized market relations as opposed to the current wild market. Our party recognizes the right to maintain different forms of ownership and economic activity. Unlike some ultra-reformers, we do not advocate the destruction of state enterprises, and state and collective farms during the transition to market relations. They need to be reformed in a speedy and popular way, rather than an elite privatization, and transformed into associations, cooperatives, and joint-stock companies."

The Peasant Party supports private farming, however; it believes that forming the necessary legislative and technical base for its development would take many years.

"The Peasant Party believes that land should be owned only by those who work it and take care of it. Legislation must confirm the peasants' unconditional ownership of land along with the right to pass it on to their heirs and each peasant's right to sell and buy its share of land within a collective of land-users. Each must have the right to own a garden plot."

The party will use all its powers to prevent sale of land for "next to nothing" to corrupt government officials and "capital owners, including foreign ones."

The party will press for more government support and subsidies, for "a parity of prices between industrial and agricultural products, without the domination of self-invented credit lines." It will insist on the reduction of taxes imposed on agricultural enterprises, retaining only the tax on land property.

The Peasant Party believes that small and medium businesses should be encouraged to help convert Ukraine's industrial facilities to upgrade food processing, attracting also foreign investment for the purpose.

The party's main goal, Dovhan says, is the stabilization of Ukraine's economy which, in turn, will strengthen its sovereignty.

"In this noble cause, the Peasant Party of Ukraine appeals for unity, national concord and solidarity of all: democrats, Communists, Liberals, or Socialists—all constructive associations and movements in the name of preserving and developing our sovereign state.

"I appeal to my colleagues, party activists, agricultural managers and specialists, please, by all means, nominate a representative of the countryside in every constituency. I call on electors to support the peasants. If we fail to do this, we are in store for the worst."

Chairman of the Socialist Party Oleksandr Moroz begins his election broadcast with an attack on his anti-Communist rivals: "What party should you vote for? Who should you give your preferences? Think of what I'm saying. The Peasant, Socialist, and Communist parties are parties of the working people. The others, with rare exceptions, whatever they say, are advocating wild capitalization. Thus, these parties are anti-popular."

The party has grown and strengthened its ranks "without the help of the West" in the three years of its existence, Moroz says. Although Ukraine's Government rejected the Socialist party's anti-crisis program proposed two years ago, some of its points are being used in the government's present policy, he says.

The Socialist leader appeals for "love and pride for homeland," jobs, and the security lost with the fall of socialism, in contrast to the current situation. He says: "Today's liberalization, privatization, and hyperinflation are mechanisms of robbing the people. It is a planned and conscious robbery by the power of the

mafiosi." Some of the proposed privatization plans are viewed as part of that robbery.

"We are against turning land into an object of sale and purchase. Look at Russia: in Voronezh, six hectares were sold to the Germans, and these six hectares have already been shipped abroad in wagons. Is it a return to 1942?" Other socialist objectives include the freezing of prices and wages.

The present government is being wrongly described as Communist, Moroz says, and its policies should not be confused with the Communist or Socialist party ideas. "It's a lie that Communists are in power. Without touching the president's closest circles, I will name a few from the top power echelon, you make your own conclusions: Yukhnovskyy, Pynzenyk, Lanovyy, Zhulynskyy, Morozov, Ryabchenko, Chernyak, Yemets, Kostenko, Talanchuk, (?Sheshchyn), Markulov—they are the ones who are deciding our foreign and home policy."

"We are accused of being in opposition to reforms," adds Volodymyr Marchenko in conclusion. "It's a lie. We are against the robbery described as reform. We are in favor of reforms that benefit honest people, not the ones executed at their expense. We are for the kind of reforms which will bring power and property to the people."

## Belarus

### Interior Minister Resigns After Lithuanians' Arrest

*LD2401172794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 24 Jan 94*

["Urgent" report by BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 24 TASS—Belarusian Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov resigned on Monday ceding to the pressure of the hard-line parliament.

Lawmakers' indignation was caused by a scandalous arrest in the Belarusian capital Minsk on January 15 of two leaders of the banned Communist Party of Lithuania, Mykolas Burokevicius and Jozas Jarmalavicius, who were on a wanted list in their republic and their further extradiction from Belarus.

Another scandal followed when interior troops were sent close to the building where the parliamentary session was considering whether the arrest was legal. Lawmaker Ivan Gerasyuk asked the parliament to clear up on whose orders the troops arrived and lawmakers demanded to sack the interior minister and the KGB chief.

The government has adopted the minister's resignation and decided to inform the parliament on the matter.

### Clinton Talks in Minsk 'Visit of Support'

*WS2101171994 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 94 p 1*

[Report by Oleg Gruzdilovich: "Bill Clinton: I Had Not Expected Such a Hearty Welcome"]

[Text]**The U.S. President was sincerely pleased. Minsk residents, having touched him, were touched too.**

I have managed to ask U.S. President Clinton about his impressions on his visit to Minsk in the huddle on the Pobyeda square, where, to the Minsk residents' delight, he boldly got into contact with them, thus putting his "security" [precedent word in transliterated English] men into a tight mess. Yet his bodyguards have come out of this mess with credit. However, as the President was approaching his limousine, I managed to elbow my way through the crowd for a mini-interview. To the title phrase of this report, Bill Clinton, while broadly smiling and lifting his hands, added that he was sincerely pleased. One may suppose, he was pleased not only with his visit results but also with the Minsk residents' delight at seeing him.

Returning to that touching moment when the U.S. President was shaking hundreds of outstretched hands with particular attention to the children, it should be said that this mutually friendly disposition of Minsk residents and the President seemed to break some invisible wall of grave officialdom, with which this visit was surrounded; further, everything progressed in a more humane fashion. I have in mind his meeting at the Academy of Science, where Bill Clinton delivered a brilliant speech more in an absorbed interlocutor's manner than in a lecturer's tone. I mean also his visit to the Kuropaty burial ground where he was all concentrated, but his accentuated concentration seemed to be for his deep feeling, not for show. Well, it is remarkable when an extremely official event on the political Olympus takes on more human traits. This gives hope that documents are signed not for documents' sake, and that the essence of those documents are the people and people's predicaments. We have seen that the U.S. President is capable of convincing not only American people but also our citizens who by now are lost in heavy doubts as to whether power is for the people or, per chance, against the people.

I would like to focus on this aspect of Clinton's visit to Minsk before touching upon the official results. Unquestionably, it was a visit of support. Not only for moderate reformers in the Supreme Soviet, whose efforts to promulgate a new constitution and to launch new elections this year were evidently supported and stimulated by Clinton. Not only for the highest government officials who at last dared to speak about our good interest in the common cause of nuclear disarmament and who heard the U.S. President's positive statements that were very close to guarantees. Not only for industrialists, scientists, and entrepreneurs, for whom the adopted documents—agreements on the protection of investments, on science and technology, on the creation of a bilateral committee for developing business, on the establishment of an American business center and regional funding—are of the greatest interest. Not only for oppositionists who were able to impart their opinions on the situation in the Republic to the U.S. President and received moral support in his assertion that American assistance will be rendered depending on the success of democratic processes. I repeat—not only for them. First of all, it was a visit of support for everyone of us, for ordinary citizens who suffer all the burden of the transition from one system to another. We are confused, we are even shocked; only a few of us know how to get out of this jam. President Clinton does not assume the role of some messiah or commander, but he believes in our strength and our ability to overcome difficulties which he calls "a pay for hope." He believes that we will adopt a worthy constitution, establish an economic basis for a worthy life and the economic protection of the people, as well as elect a new legislative body and create a system which will allow everyone to participate in adopting the most important resolutions in our Republic. He extends best wishes to this country which suffered from ideological conflicts, war, and Chernobyl; he believes in its citizens and wants to help them. Such were some of Clinton's statements voiced in his speech at the Academy of Sciences. It should be noted that his hope for holding new elections in Belarus was rewarded by a special burst of applause.

What else can be included in a nonprotocol summary of this visit? One extremely personal, but, it seems, significant observation. The majority of the audience at the Academy of Sciences—mainly young scientists, young politicians and journalists, and the cultural elite—listened to the U.S. President "live," whereas state officials clutched earphones with a simultaneous translation. One should only agree with Bill Clinton that this new highly educated and talented generation is our greatest hope.

## Defense Chief Urges Security Treaty Approval

*WS2401153094 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 21 Jan 94 p 1*

[Speech by Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy at the Supreme Soviet in Minsk on 18 January]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies!

We were presented by history with this unique opportunity to ensure a worthy place for our young independent state on the European continent at a time when the world has rid itself of the hostile standoff of military blocs and confrontation between West and East.

It would be naive to overlook the fact that nowadays, the world is developing according to laws based on a new reality. Ever increasing economic, technological, informational, and cultural relations among states have already prompted us to redefine the notion of neutrality. Policies of all neutral European states are definitely shifting toward active participation in all-European processes sponsored by the United Nations and CSCE, as well as activation of links with the EC. The tendency toward the political unification of West Europe is all the more conspicuous.

The situation east of Belarus is unfolding no less dynamically. Contrary to predictions, the CIS has not disintegrated but is developing, despite serious difficulties.

The last year made a substantial impact on CIS member states, bringing their positions closer and deepening their all-around cooperation. Many republics redefined their position in favor of expanding integration within the CIS, which was evidenced by the meeting in Ashgabat on 23-24 December 1993. This meeting was attended by 11 of the 12 CIS defense ministers—absent was the Moldovan minister. It was unanimously agreed that the CIS Allied Armed Forces General Command be replaced with the Staff for Coordination of Military Cooperation. All the states—including Ukraine, whose position has until recently been reduced to observer status— declared their intent to participate in its work. All defense ministers concurred in the opinion that it is easier to resolve problems connected with the building of military forces in cooperation and conjunction with one another. The newly created staff is designed to coordinate this process. I think everyone understands that the elimination of the CIS General Command put the idea of forming an Allied Armed Forces out of the question. From now on, issues connected with operational use of CIS national forces lie exclusively with the competence of their own governments.

All speculations about the possibility of dispatching troops to "hot spots" proved unfounded. Not one single serviceman will ever be sent outside our country without the permission of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet.

We intend to participate actively in the activities of the Staff for Coordination of Military Cooperation. It will be staffed based on the coalition and equal-footing principle. Our representatives there will seek closer cooperation with other CIS countries in the military sphere, which is of vital importance to our Armed Forces at this time. Bilateral contacts do not offer as many opportunities for cooperation as we would like.

Although we have concluded bilateral agreements with the Russian Federation and Ukraine, they do not work stably without a system of coordination. Everything comes down to financial relations and the system of licenses and duties. In our opinion, every concluded agreement must be part of a system of agreements among states, and the Treaty on Collective Security is absolutely essential to this system.

The issue of Belarusian entry into the collective security treaty has been repeatedly debated at different levels. We are familiar with the opinions of our partners about conditions that Belarus put forward while joining the treaty. All agree that you cannot participate in it partially. As for the present conditions, they simply specify our understanding of Articles 4 and 6 without altering their meaning. I would like you to examine them once again.

Out of 11 articles of the treaty, none encroaches on our Republic's sovereignty and its intention to achieve neutrality. To do this, one should ensure a reliable security for society and the state, lay the foundation for peaceful relations with neighbors, and receive security and support guarantees from friendly states in case of outside aggression.

The idea of neutrality can be actually implemented after three problems are solved:

In economy—development of strong basic industries capable of ensuring the stable and independent operation of the economy;

In politics—recognition of our neutrality by other states and their guarantee to respect its existence;

And finally, the third problem is a well-trained Armed Forces to protect sovereignty—if need be, with arms—and a comprehensive system of their support. As you can see, these problems have not been solved yet.

All provisions of the treaty can serve as and are designed to be a security guarantee for Belarus. For example, the document's preamble is based on the sovereignty of

independent states. Article 2 provides for the mechanism of joint consultations in the event of a threat, which also complies with the proclaimed principles. There are no corrections in the remaining articles, except for Articles 4 and 6.

In Article 4, we propose to specify the passage "Providing necessary assistance, including military"; while in Article 6, we emphasize that the decision to use the Belarusian Armed Forces lies exclusively with the competence of the Supreme Soviet, and can only be executed in accordance with Belarusian law. These reservations do not run counter to the goals and objectives of the treaty, and I think will raise no doubts on the part of its participants, the number of which will now rise to nine.

Close military cooperation with CIS countries will reduce our losses while reforming our Armed Forces, secure the civilized withdrawal of Russian troops from Belarusian territory, help maintain high combat readiness of the Army that would be equipped with modern arms, and create favorable internal and external conditions for establishing the state.

This will also ensure a positive solution of the issue of Belarus' share of nuclear fuel produced from warhead uranium processing after the removal of nuclear weapons from Belarusian territory.

Unfortunately, the need of the Armed Forces for material-technical supplies (production, repairs, armaments and equipment regulations, shipments of ZIP, AKB, [expansions unknown] etc.) and personnel training can only be met through military cooperation with other CIS countries. The Belarusian Republic has every right to benefit from the scientific and technical potential of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Belarusian scientific and military-complex enterprises will not receive any orders from the CIS countries before we take a common interest in guaranteeing our own security.

Today, the potential of Air Force equipment is practically exhausted; due to the lack of repair funds, design bureaus, etc., other equipment is on the verge of collapse, servicing equipment of air defense, rocket, and air forces. [sentence as published]

A question may arise here: Could these three problems possibly be solved by signing the collective security treaty? Of course, we will not get anything for free. However, as an equal partner, we will enjoy privileges and benefits in the system of joint production, equipment repair and servicing, and exchanges of technology and military information. Common use of airspace, communication routes, airfields, and testing grounds promises substantial economic advantages.

Let me also remind you that we need military cooperation with other CIS countries if only to maintain the combat readiness of the Belarusian Armed Forces at a high level. For us, joining the collective security treaty is economically justified. For example, unification of air defense forces, anti-rocket defense forces, intelligence, and other components would greatly enhance national security. We see no alternative here.

Following the example of some European states, Belarus can join the collective security system reserving the right to participate in peacekeeping operations only in regions representing a threat to the security of our state.

Germany, one of NATO's most active members, participates in the collective security system based on such principles.

Besides, without our own military industry and a developed system of arms purchases, and without having solved all problems concerning international treaties on conventional arms reduction in Europe, we are forced to maintain the closest possible contacts with all CIS states.

All these arguments—and they can be much more expanded—underline the need for explicit ratification of the Treaty on Collective Security that took Belarus so much effort to sign.

Concluding, let me stress again that given the developing situation and the present economic situation, one should not see the status of neutrality as a goal in itself. I am confident that all of our neighbors, which want to see our state as a thriving and reliable partner, will understand this. It is not admissible to remain neutral to any integration processes that are rapidly gathering speed. Today, instead of its classical form, neutrality can assume a differentiating and selective nature.

The true condition of the Armed Forces and a search for anti- crisis solutions force me to call upon you to ratify the Treaty on Collective Security.

## Moldova

### Communique Protests Zhirinovskiy Statement

*AU2101215594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2037 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] In an interview granted to Tiraspol television in the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party and deputy of the State Duma, has made a delirious statement again, throwing menacing statements and invectives at an independent and sovereign state—the Republic of Moldova.

Here is an excerpt from that interview, which caused consternation in Chisinau and not just there:

[Begin Zhirinovskiy recording, in Russian with superimposed Romanian translation] Send us your request immediately to join the ruble zone and that is it! You will have Russian currency, all your payments will be made in rubles, and you will not have any more problems. That is the sole solution.

You are a part of Russia, even if, for the time being, Moldova does not want to become a part of Russia. I promise I will do it! We will incorporate you within Russia on all planes, including the diplomatic, military, financial, and economic aspects.

I wish you courage and manliness. I understand your situation. You are encircled by Moldova and Ukraine. Yours is the most difficult situation in the whole of Russia. Look, the Russians in Lithuania have Leningrad to support them. However, there is no one standing beside you. You represent the most heroic part of Russia! I will do everything I can. I will make all necessary efforts for you to return to Russia, and we will compensate all your losses. Of course, we cannot compensate your losses in human lives, but we will compensate them by severely punishing all those who are guilty for the crimes perpetrated on the soil of the Dniester Republic. We will not lie to you and we will not betray you! Never, ever! The Dniester Republic shall be a part of Russia! [end recording]

In connection with the aforementioned allegations, which justify the requests of Zhirinovskiy's many compatriots to begin penal investigations against him or send him to a mental hospital, the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova has issued the following press communique:

The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Moldova today sent a note to the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Chisinau in connection with the interview granted by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to Tiraspol television, which was broadcast on 18 January 1994, in which the deputy to the Russian Duma formulated territorial claims against the Republic of Moldova, saying, among other things, that the Dniester Republic should be included in Russia and that the [14th] Army will stay there.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry considers such statements made by a representative of Russia's law-making body as irresponsible and consequently as an attempt made against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova. Such statements prejudice Moldovan-Russian relations, create tension among the public opinion, and might negatively influence the talks on the political settlement of the conflict in the eastern rayons [of Moldova] and the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Moldova resolutely protests and requests that adequate steps be taken to express the clear distancing of the competent bodies of the Russian Federation from the stance and statements made by Zhirinovskiy, concludes the press communique released by the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova.

## Lebed Terms Dniester Leaders 'Loathsome Figures'

*AU2401131994 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Jan 94 p 4*

[Constantin Lupu report: "Dual Power in Tiraspol"]

[Text] In Tiraspol relations seem to be increasingly strained between the leadership of the self-styled Dniester Republic and the commander of the 14th [Russian] Army, General Aleksandr Lebed.

Recently new elements have been added to the conflict, which actually dates back to earlier times: On Friday [14 January], during a program on the local cable television Asket, General Lebed stated that the leaflets that had been distributed on the previous night announcing that a coup was being prepared had been printed at the suggestion of Vladimir Shevtsov, the security minister of the separatist government. Lebed also accused Shevtsov of cabling a communique to Moscow warning about the alleged coup, which was to have taken place on 15 January.

In addition, on the same day on which Lebed replied to those allegations [on Asket television], the Dniester authorities issued a press communique and organized a news conference on the same issue.

Further events took place on Tuesday, 18 January, when the Moscow daily IZVESTIYA published a statement by Lebed, who, among other things, asserted: "Currently they are openly looting in the Dniester Republic, and that is why no progress is being achieved in the peace talks [with Moldova]" and that the solution, in his opinion, consists of "the banishment of all those loathsome figures (the current Dniester leaders—editor's note), the organization of new elections, and the ascent to power of credible personalities..." That is why the general called upon the population living on the left bank of the Dniester to disobey the authorities.

Recently the commander of the 14th Army held a meeting with school headmasters and the chairmen of the trade unions in the educational sector. Speaking in front of the plenum of that meeting, Lebed acknowledged the children's right to study in their mother tongue from textbooks printed in the Latin alphabet. That upset Professor Vasiliy Yakovlev, the leader of a civic group, so much that he called Lebed "a spy for the Republic of Moldova" and a "coauthor of the Romanization of education in the Dniester republic."

Also on Tuesday [18 January] the 14th Army Command issued a declaration warning the Tiraspol authorities that "decisive retaliatory measures will be taken, including the use of arms, if slander and attacks are issued against the personnel and the military assets of the Army of the Russian Federation."

It seems that Moscow, in the person of General Lebed, is fed up with the unaccomplished vanity of the self-styled

republic's leaders, and it also intends to react firmly. Obviously, all such reaction will be in pursuit of Moscow's goals.

Anyway, a dual power structure has been instated in Tiraspol, and both parties possess sufficiently large and well equipped military and paramilitary forces.

### Dniester Republic Reintroduces 'Old Rubles'

*LD2401223394 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The Dniester Republic reintroduced old rubles today, with a stamp depicting Aleksandr Suvorov glued on them. Locals have christened them suvorovki. Pensioners were first to get the new money. The minimum pension is equal to 60,000 stamped rubles, which is enough for about five kilos of boiled sausage.

### Daily Publishes State of Emergency Regulation

*AU2401083594 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1800 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/1/1994—DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA of Tiraspol publishes today clips from the Regulation on the Juridical Regime of Emergency State in the so-called Dniester Republic, approved by Tiraspol Supreme Soviet on March 17th 1991. The document has been applied by a recent decree of Igor Smirnov. It stipulates measures undertaken in conditions of emergency state. They include enhancement of objects' defence, special regime of citizens' entering and exiting the zone, expelling persons who violated the public order who are not citizens of the Dniester region as well as representatives of justice bodies and other institutions of other republics. The expelling is paid by those expelled and is made to their permanent dislocation place or outside localities where the emergency is instituted. The regulation provides temporary confiscation of all types of arms and munitions; usage of enterprises' resources to liquidate consequence of exceptional situations; restricted use of technique, TV and radio emission equipment; control over mass-media; restrictions of circulation and controls of transport means. Activities of parties, social organizations, movements and citizens' associations which hinder the process of improving the situation and restrictions of circulation of citizens on entire territory of the Dniester region or its separate localities are also provided. Article 5 of the regulation states that the Dniester Supreme Soviet or president are able to annul any decision of inferior bodies or functionaries in zones with emergency state. In order to coordinate the activity, the Supreme Soviet, regional and city soviets, executives can organize temporary coordination organs, commandments for the emergency state. According to Article 6, the provocation of rumours, actions causing public disorder or inter-ethnic conflicts, the active hindrance of functionaries and citizens who fulfil their legal rights and obligations, opposition to judicial bodies, people's militia members and other persons empowered with public order maintenance is published with fines or 30 days administrative arrest.

### Cabinet Members Temporarily Dismissed To Run in Elections

*AU2401083194 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1800 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/1/1994—9 out of 32 members of Moldovan Government were temporarily dismissed for the period of electoral campaign according to the presidential decree, stated to BASA Ion Sofronie, government press secretary. Here is the list of people on temporary dismissal: Andrei Sangheli, Moldovan premier (candidate of Moldovan Agrarian Democratic Party-PDAM); Nicolae Oleinic, vice premier (PDAM); Valentin Cunev, vice premier (PDAM); Vitalie Gorincioi, minister of agriculture and food (PDAM); Gheorghe Ghidirim, minister of health (Democratic Party of Labour); Petru Sandulache, minister of youth, sport and tourism (Reform Party); Visarion Cesuev, head of State Department for Privatization (Social-Democratic Party); Ion Ciocanu, head of Department of Languages (National Christian Party). Ion Ungureanu, minister of culture, also requested temporary dismissal in case of his registration as an independent candidate. Sofronie added that Premier Sangheli could execute his power in exceptional situations. His last execution of power was due to the emergency state decreed in the Dniester region.

## Kazakhstan

### Ukraine-Type Deal for Dismantling Missiles Wanted

*PM2101201994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 94 p 4*

[Article by Boris Vinogradov: "Almaty Demands Billion Dollars for Its Uranium"]

[Text] Kazakhstan intends to get the full amount [polu-chit spolna] for the uranium contained in the warheads of the 104 SS-18 missiles located on its territory.

Nursultan Nazarbayev said this in Kiev, where he is on an official visit. The Kazakh president pointed out that he is ready to sign a new agreement with Russia either on a bilateral basis or on a quadrilateral basis involving Ukraine and Belarus. In the next few days he will be going to Washington to discuss these problems with Bill Clinton.

Russia believed that the matter of compensation for the nuclear material in the strategic missiles due for removal from Kazakhstan was in principle closed. There are agreements on this point. Almaty, like Kiev and Minsk, should receive its share after deduction of expenditure on the reprocessing of highly enriched uranium and its transportation and storage at Russian plants.

However, all the indications are that the method of calculation adopted earlier does not suit the Kazakh side. It intends to follow the example of Ukraine, which succeeded a week ago in obtaining $1 billion on signing the trilateral agreement with Russia and the United States in Moscow. This money is being given to Ukraine out of the sum appropriated by the U.S. Congress for the nuclear disarmament of the CIS countries under the START I treaty. It has become known that Almaty is hoping for similar compensation.

In other words, Kazakhstan, like Ukraine, has decided not to wait for funds to come into its account from the sale of uranium by its Russian partners, whom it is not inclined to trust very much. It is obviously safer to get insurance now, in the form of a guaranteed billion out of the U.S. quota.

Experts believe that in that event Russia will have to take on additional expenditure for the safe dismantling of nuclear warheads in the possession of its CIS neighbors. It cannot be rule out that Belarus will demand its share in the same way, although some of the uranium has already been shipped out of its territory to Russia for reprocessing. When it hosted Bill Clinton recently, Minsk received $100 million from this same package. But now, REUTER reports, Belarus is laying claim to a further $500 million.

### Nazarbayev Decree To Invigorate Economic Reforms

*LD2101194894 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] A decree by the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan on measures aimed at invigorating the implementation of economic reforms:

With the aim of elaborating a program of anticrisis measures and stabilizing the economy in 1994-95, and taking into consideration the introduction of a national currency by Kazakhstan and agreements that have been signed between Kazakhstan and international organizations and certain countries, I decree:

1. The establishment of a republican commission with the following composition:
A. Kazhegeldin, first deputy premier as its chairman;
S. Akhanov, deputy minister of economy;
B. Aymakov, deputy minister of finance;
U. Dzhandosov, first deputy chairman of the national Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
A. Tleyberdin, state councillor of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
E. Utembayev, head of the department of economic policy of the presidential apparatus and the Cabinet of Ministers;
A. Shukputov, assistant to the vice president of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
P. Svoik, chairman of the state committee for antimonopoly policy;
V. Sobolev, minister of labor of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

2. The commission will examine intitiatives and draft programs which will be presented by parties, public movements, associations, funds, private companies, scientific collectives, international organizations, foreign organizations, funds, and experts. These initiatives and programs, as well as a program from the commission itself, should be published for discussion by the public.

3. The commission should examine all the materials they have received and results of discussions at their extended sessions. Authors of alternative projects should attend the sessions. The final version of the program should be presented for consideration by the president of the Republic of Kazahstan not later than 1 April 1994.

4. Taking into consideration the difficult situation that has arisen in the economy, the commission is instructed to prepare a presidential decree on this issue before 1 March 1994. It will be aimed at addressing urgent issues and providing with legislative support the stabilization measures. Provisions of the decree could be amended and specified in the final version of the program.

5. The commission in its work should use the expertize of heads and experts of ministries and departments, local administrations, works, and other structures.

[Signed] Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan

## Kyrgyzstan

### Prospect of U.S. Air Base Reported

*PM2401101994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 94 First Edition p 6*

[Untitled report from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA-"LOGOTIP"-KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA roundup under the general heading "What's New in CIS Countries?"]

[Text] According to information from an informed source, the prospects for locating a U.S. Air Force base in Kyrgyzstan within the framework of NATO are being studied at state level in the republic. In support of this account is the lively exchange of visits last year by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, former State Defense Committee Chairman Dzhanybek Umetaliyev, and other high-ranking officials. The projected base's location is for the moment being kept secret. Lieutenant Colonel A. Isayev, head of the Defense Ministry Press Center, who was approached to clarify the matter, neither confirmed nor denied this information.

### Kozyrev Arrives on Working Visit, Met by Akayev

#### To Discuss Bilateral Relations

*LD2401215694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2142 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgy Shmelev]

[Text] Bishkek January 25 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Bishkek on a working visit early on Tuesday [25 January].

At Bishkek airport Kozyrev was met by Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev and other officials. This is the first foreign trip by the Russian foreign minister in 1994.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS Kozyrev said that he has delivered a personal message to Akayev from President Boris Yeltsin in which he confirmed Russia's readiness to provide assistance to Kyrgyzstan to further its reform.

In Bishkek Kozyrev is expected to meet with Kyrgyz leaders to discuss a wide range of issues concerning bilateral relations between the two countries, prospects for the development of the Commonwealth of Independent states and some aspects of regional and international cooperation.

From Bishkek Kozyrev will fly to Blagoveshchensk, administrative centre of the Amur region in the Russian Far East, and then further to China where he will arrive on an official visit later this week.

#### Holds Talks With Akayev

*LD2501084394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0822 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Maynayev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Bishkek January 25 TASS—Kyrgyzstan feels no Russian imperial ambitions and will work to ensure that ethnic Russians do not emigrate from the Central Asian republic, according to President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev.

Kyrgyzstan "sees no imperial ambitions in Russian actions and does not feel any pressure from Moscow", he told a press conference after meeting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Tuesday and added that he intends to use every effort to strengthen the provisions fixed in the Russian-Kyrgyz friendship treaty.

Akayev also stressed that he would do everything possible so that nealy a million of Russian ethnics living in Kyrgyzstan "do not feel any inconveniences" and that the Central Asian republic "remains good motherland for all citizens of the country, including Russians".

Kozyrev, in his turn, said the Russian leadership supports democratic Kyrgyzstan and will render any necessary assistance to President Akayev.

The minister added that the protection of the rights of Russians in CIS countries has nothing in common with imperial ambitions. Human rights protection has nothing in common with "imperial policy as Russia respected and respects sovereign rights of its equal partners", Kozyrev said.

He handed over to Akayev a message from Boris Yeltsin in which the Russian president pledged support to market reforms and democratic transformations of Kyrgyz authorities.

Akayev and Kozyrev signed a consular convention and a protocol on the exchange of ratification credentials to the treaty "on legal assistance and legal relations in civil, family and criminal cases".

Kozyrev, who is accompanied by Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov, left for the city of Blagoveshchensk on the border with China from where he will proceed for a visit to the neighbouring country.

#### Further on Talks

*LD2501114194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Russia supports Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev's state program for improving the position of ethnic Russians in his republic, says Yeltsin's message to Akayev, handed to the Kyrgyz president by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

This document confirms Moscow's readiness to continue rendering every possible economic assistance and support to fraternal Kyrgyzstan.

During his talks with Akayev, Kozyrev described Kyrgyzstan as one of Russia's closest allies. "I've always said that we are not alien to each other, although many have accused me of imperialism for such words," said the Russian minister. "What can be more normal than stating that we are vitally interested in each other," he said.

President Akayev said that the new program was aimed at checking the outflow of ethnic Russians from Kyrgyzstan. He believes that the Russian foreign minister's current visit will help support the industrial enterprises mostly employing ethnic Russians.

Akayev also said that the Kyrgyz defense enterprises employing ethnic Russians and their Russian partners should have equal access to raw materials and equipment. "This is not going to be a one-way street," he said. "If large packages of Kyrgyz enterprises' shares go to Russia, these enterprises will carry on, providing thousands of people with jobs," he added. He also thinks that this would enhance ethnic Russians' confidence.

As an example of the efforts to raise the ethnic Russians' status he referred to the establishment of a Kyrgyz-Slavic university in Bishkek which is training 200 students. To quote the Kyrgyz president, this university "is expected to calm the Slavic ethnic groups living in Kyrgyzstan, because their children will be able to receive an education in their native language."

The program also contains measures to ensure that the teaching of the Russian language, the language of interstate communication in the CIS, is not reduced. "The Kyrgyz people cannot neglect the great source of Russian culture," said Akayev.

He is convinced that only jointly with Russia can Kyrgyzstan solve the problems facing ethnic Russians. "We can solve psychological problems and create an atmosphere of good will," he said. However, on its own Kyrgyzstan will fail to solve the economic aspects of this problem, he concluded.

### Apologizes for 'Fascist Statements'

*LD2501114594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Russia's foreign policy has not undergone any changes, Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev on Tuesday.

Kozyrev said that neither the patriots, nor the fascists influence Russian foreign policy in any way. However, he apologized for the "fascist statements made in Moscow recently." The protection of ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics has nothing to do with imperialism, he continued. He emphasized, though, that "we cannot remain indifferent to violations of ethnic Russians' rights, particularly in Latvia, from where they are being forced out."

Akayev said that he did not see any imperial ambitions in Russia's foreign policy. "Without a strong and great Russia, stability in Eurasia is unthinkable," he said. Speaking about the problem of dual citizenship, he noted that it should be tackled on a bilateral basis.

Kozyrev announced that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin was to arrive in Bishkek shortly for comprehensive talks on economic cooperation.

## Tajikistan

### Russian Border Guards Attacked on Afghan Border

*LD2201170794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1353 GMT 22 Jan 94*

[Text] Russian border guards were fired on from guns and rocket installations several times throughout Friday at the Turg height near the 12 and 13 outposts of Moscow's Border Unit on the Tajik-Afghan frontier. The enemy gunners were suppressed by counter fire. No Russian serviceman was hurt.

As an army officer in Dushanbe has told Interfax, the height has been continuously shelled for the second day from Tajikistan by small groups of infiltrators from Afghanistan.

The spokesman reported that two Tajiks were detained when they tried to cross into Afghanistan in the Ishkashim area of the Gorno-Badakhshan region on Thursday night [20 January]. They were unarmed.

### Local Forces, Afghan Mojahedin Clash 23 Jan

*LD2401142494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1331 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 Jan—An armed clash between a local self-defense detachment and a group of about 15 Afghan mojahedin who penetrated from the territory of adjacent Afghanistan, took place on 23 January in the region of the Tajik border village of Yamkun. After losing two men killed and several wounded the mojahedin retreated. During the battle the local population liberated two fellow villagers seized by the Afghans.

The authorities of Gorno-Badakhshan and representatives of the headquarters of the command of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan protested to the Afghan side and demanded that the organizers of this provocation are brought to justice.

The press center of the Russian border troops' command in Tajikistan reports that the situation in other sections

along the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border remains complicated, but under control. According to the same source, no armed incidents in the Moskovskiy, Pyandzhskiy and other sections of the border have been registered in the last two days.

### Uzbekistan, Russia Accused of Bombing Refugee Camps

*LD2401163494 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[From the "Week in Review" program, with program presenter Muborez Nekvarz and Farhod Mumin, political commentator of the Voice of Free Tajikistan]

[Excerpt] [Nekvarz] Let us review the events of last week. I think the hot issue of the week was the internal clashes in Afghanistan.

[Mumim] That is right. However, analysis of the Afghan internal disagreements is the job of the Afghan brothers themselves, but here I would like to point out one issue which is causing concern to us Tajiks and to the world community. This issue is the bombing of Tajik refugee camps in Afghanistan by unknown aircraft.

Several points need to be clarified here. First, those who have resorted to this act, by taking advantage of internal conflict in Afghanistan, are trying to fulfill their ugly political aims.

[Nekvarz] Who do you have in mind and to whom do these aircraft belong?

[Mumim] In my opinion the bombing of the Tajik refugee camps was planned outside the territory of Afghanistan. In no way could this action have been organized by the opposing formations or ethnic groups of Afghanistan. Because from the first days the charitable Afghan brothers have welcomed Tajik refugees as their true brothers and sisters and have provided all-round assistance to them.

Although the Afghan opposing sides have disagreements among themselves, they all have a good opinion of the Tajik refugees and we hope, God willing, that this will continue.

In my view, these aircraft either belonged to Uzbekistan or to Russia and they carried out these attacks by order of the communist regime of Rakhmanov—a regime which is used to attacking its own people with foreign forces.

[Nekvarz] I would like to point out that this incident was reported by the world's influential media such as REUTER, the BBC, Radio Liberty, and others.

[Mumim] That is absolutely correct. Analysis of events shows that the communist government of Tajikistan had a hand in these conspiracies. The bombing raids against the refugee camps were carried out two weeks ago following the appeal by Imamali Rakhmanov to his so-called compatriots abroad. [passage omitted]

### Attempt To Cross From Afghanistan Foiled

*LD2501100294 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation remains tense on the Tajik-Afghan border, INTERFAX reports. Last night, Russian border guards foiled an attempt by an armed group to cross over from Tajikistan to Afghanistan, or rather from Afghanistan to Tajikistan—I beg your pardon—in the area of section five of border post no. 12 of the Pyandzh border detachment.

Yesterday, in the area of the same border post, Russian border guards discovered a group of Tajik opposition fighters who intended to violate the border. In an exchange of fire that followed, three armed violators were killed, and the others retreated.

Also yesterday, two rockets were fired at border post no. 12 from the territory of Afghanistan. Fortunately, there were no casualties among the border guards.

## Armenia

### Azerbaijani Warplane Shot Down in Karabakh

*NC2401160694 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1211 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army's Air Defense Forces shot down one of two Azerbaijani warplanes trying to bomb Stepanakert not far from the NKR's capital on 22 January. The pilot's fate is not known.

In recent days, the enemy has actively used air force all along the war front.

Yesterday, NKR Defense Army units halted Azerbaijani offensives in the direction of Mardakert, Agdam-Askeran, and Gadrut-Fizuli. Two Karabakh fighters died and six were wounded. The enemy lost 33 men.

Karabakh positions have been coming under artillery and rocket shelling on the borders of Agdamskiy and Mardakertskiy Rayons since morning.

## Azerbaijan

### Azerbaijanis Claim To Liberate 12 Settlements

*NC2401221394 Baku TURAN in English 2131 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Baku (January 24) TURAN—As a result of the latest fitings on the territory of Kelbadzhar region of the Republic, the units of Azeri army managed to liberate 12 settlements. According to press-centre of Defense Ministry (DM) of Azerbaijan, only for the last week all the villages situated in the northern part of Kelbadzhar region were liberated. Simultaneously, Azeri soldiers have taken all strategically important top-hills which ensure the control over motor highway Kelbadzhar-Agdere (Mardakert). Moreover, a section of the high-way Kelbajar-Lachin is controlled by Azeri units as well.

For the last week in this section of the front 300 Armenian soldiers and officers have been killed and wounded, 9 tanks, 2 BMP, 5 artillery systems of the enemy have been destroyed. As trophies Azeri soldiers have taken 4 tanks, 2 BMP and a great many of guns, mortars, ammunition depots.

5 Armenian ensigns and officers have been taken in prison at the same section of the front. The aressted said that they were the soldiers of the 127th Russian Motor-Infantry Division located in the city of Gyumri on the territory of Armenian Republic. According to their words, the reserves of ammunitions in Khankendi are very few and the fighting sprit of the soldiers is low. Within this period, Armenians tried to tranport only 20 parcels of ammunitions and 1 barrel of fuel from Yerevan to Karabakh. The arrested said that in Yerevan people are caught at the streets, taken from home at night and sent to the Army. Very often Armenian soldiers are forced to fight under the threat of thier relatives' murder, the arrested said.

These data show that not "the forces of Karabakh's self-defense" but regular units of Armenian army including soldiers of Russian units located on the territory of Armenian Republic fight against Azerbaijan.

### Loss of Azeri Aircraft Over Stepanakert Denied

*NC2401185994 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 24 Jan 94*

["Text" of Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense communique on 24 January]

[Text] Unable to resist the attacks of our steadfast fighters, the enemy units have begun to retreat after suffering many casualties. The Armenian side has realized the weakness of its military forces and moved to disseminate unfounded information in order to mislead its own people and the world community.

Quoting Armenia's news agencies, Russia's television network reported today that one of Azerbaijan's fighter aircraft has been shot down over Khankendi [Stepanakert]. The Azerbaijan Armed Forces Command Headquarters has disclosed that all of the Republic's military aircraft are ready for action.

### More on Defense Ministry's Denial

*LD2401203494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1957 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has dismissed the reports that an Azerbaijani combat jet was shot down near Khankendi (Stepanakert) on January 23. The Azerbaijani mission in Moscow told Interfax today that the information was "not true to life." The mission also dismissed the reports about a large-scale offensive launched by Armenian forces.

At the same time, the press service of the Nagorno-Karabakh army confirmed to Interfax that the jet was shot down saying that its leftovers had been found. A special group left for the place where the jet fell into the ground to look for the pilot or his body and verify the type of aircraft. According to preliminary information, it was an assault plane Sukhoi-25.

The press service said that two Azerbaijani jets trespassed the air border of Nagorno-Karabakh again at 13:30 today. According to preliminary information, one of the jets dropped several bombs near Stepanakert. The effects of the bombing are being verified.

According to soúrces in Stepanakert, fighting continued on a number of sections of the front line today. Nagorno-Karabakh forces repelled Azerbaijani attacks between the district centers of Askeran and Agdam and in the north of the Martuni district of Azerbaijan. Having lost 1 tank and up to 15 troops, Azerbaijani units had to

retreat to their positions. Several Nagorno-Karabakh servicemen were wounded, according to the press service.

### CIS Interpol Branches Hold Conference in Baku

*NC2401222194 Baku TURAN in English 2131 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Baku (January 24) TURAN—A seminar of CIS national departments of Interpol took place in Baku during January 15-17, chief of Azeri National Bureau of Interpol Captain Tofik Murshudlu told TURAN news agency.

Representatives of national bureaus of Interpol from nine CIS states participated at the seminar. Representatives of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan could not take part in the seminar for technical matters. Armenian representatives did not participate at Baku seminar as well, though they sent their proposals to the organization committee of the forum. Baltic Interpol departments were presented by the chief of Latvian Interpol Department.

A resolution on the results of the seminar is adopted. The resolution states the necessity of development of the work on bringing the laws in the former USSR republics in conformity with the international norms, working out principals of cooperation and interconnection in the struggle against crime and narcotic drugs smuggling. The importance of improvement the communication means and exchange of information is also stressed.

### Ambassador to Iran Relieved of Post, Reappointed

*NC2401194494 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] By decree of the Azerbaijani president, Nasib Logman Ogly Nasibzade has been relieved as Azerbaijan's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Iran on his appointment to another post.

### Refugees From Nagorno-Karabakh Go to Baku

*NC2501082794 Paris AFP in English 0701 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Excerpt] Sumgait, Azerbaijan, Jan 25 (AFP)—Thousands of Azerbaijani refugees, driven from the Armenian enclave Nagorno-Karabakh, are clogging the outskirts of the Azeri capital Baku, cultivating their rage and bitterness.

A six-year war over mainly Christian Nagorno-Karabakh, which is seeking to break from Moslem Azerbaijan, has displaced hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis according to humanitarian [words indistinct] million.

Many of those who have sought refuge in hospitals or holiday complexes here in Sumgait, 30 kilometers (18 miles) from the capital, spend their days in frustrating idleness.

Uprooted, having no chance of finding work, their indignation deepens, particularly when they recall the day that Armenian troops entered their villages.

"This war will only end when the Armenians get out of Nagorno- Karabakh," insists 28-year-old Ruslamov Rovjen, who said he fled his village of Lachin when it came under Armenian control on May 17, 1992.

Lachin is part of a strategic Azerbaijani corridor linking Nagorno-Karabakh to the republic of Armenia.

After their capture of the region in western Azerbaijan, Armenian forces expanded their operations to areas south and southwest of the enclave, leaving them in control of more than 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory.

"We can never again live with the Armenians," asserted Rovjen, a musician, who said he had been forced to leave everything behind—including his favorite instrument, the accordion.

Other refugees say Armenian troops set fire to their homes. Some accuse Russian units from 7th Army and the 366th Special Branch of backing Armenian forces in Nagorno-Karabakh.

They say they cannot understand how Azerbaijan can be seen abroad as the aggressor in a conflict that has killed nearly 20,000 people in six years. [passage omitted]

### Presidential Staffer on Conditions for Peace

*LD2401192894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1642 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Azerbaijan welcomes Russia's mediation in its conflict with Armenia and is ready for constructive peace efforts, said a senior member of the Azerbaijani president's staff.

Rakhman Mustafazade, in an interview with Interfax, accused Armenia of causing delays in the peace process within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

He said Azerbaijan's position fully conformed to the idea of the presidents of Russia and the United States as stated in their Moscow declaration, namely that the conflict must be resolved within the CIS framework and on the basis of international law principles, such as respect for the independence and existing borders of the new states on the territory of the former Soviet Union, including Azerbaijan and Armenia.

As Azerbaijan's principal conditions for the settlement of the conflict, Mustafazade named the withdrawal of

Armenian troops from the territories they were occupying and security guarantees for the Armenian and Azeri population of Nagorno-Karabakh; abrogation by Armenia of all its legislative acts declaring Nagorno-Karabakh part of Armenia; and an end to Armenia's "policy of destroying Azeri historical and cultural monuments" in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Meanwhile, presidential spokesman Elchin Guseinbeili described peace plans recently proposed by some foreign political scientists as "not serious." He said the plan for "security zones" and "humanitarian corridors" for Nagorno-Karabakh would lead to the annexation of the "occupied territories" both within Nagorno-Karabakh and outside it.

At the same time, he said humanitarian corridors could be used to enable Azeri refugees from Armenia's southeastern regions to return home.

### Opposition Seeks To Disband National Assembly

*LD2401192094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1642 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" No. 15 feature]

[Text] The Azeri parliament is still to give its assessment of the January 1990 tragedy in Baku. Last Friday the opposition deputies blocked again the parliament's decision on the issue. Opposition deputies believe that only a new, democratically elected parliament is able to evaluate the events of three years ago when over 100 Baku residents died.

The leader of the National Independence Party Etibar Mamedov and representatives of the People's Front of Azerbaijan believe that the present parliament formed under ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov demonstrated more than once its unprincipled approach and took decisions to please each leadership. The Front's faction demands the disbandment of parliament and the holding of new elections.

The opposition disagrees with the point of view of President Geydar Aliyev and other leaders who are convinced that the former First Secretary of the Azeri Communist Party Central Committee Abdurakhman Vezirov, the then Chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers A. Mutalibov and the then KGB Chairman Vagif Guseynov are to bear responsibility for what happened January 20, 1990. The deputies of the People's Front of Azerbaijan and of the Party for National Independence believe that the political leadership of the former Soviet Union who took the decision to bring in troops in Baku are the main culprits of the tragedy.

## Georgia

### Shevardnadze Interviewed on Foreign Relations

*LD2401141994 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0629 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Regular weekly interview with Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Batono [polite form of address] Eduard, last week you visited France where you signed two most important documents—a treaty on mutual understanding, friendship, and cooperation between the two countries and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. How would you assess the results of this visit in general?

And another question. When we talk about relations between Georgia and Iran, Georgia and Turkey, or Georgia and Russia it is clear that this is about regional problems and regional interests. However, what political interests can Georgia and France have in common?

[Shevardnadze] Those who had the opportunity must have heard some of the assessments I made on the plane and at a news conference in Paris. I can state again now that the visit was very important. As you know, this was the first official state government visit. And the main result, as you said, was the signing of those two documents, which laid the foundation of law-based relations between Georgia and France. Without this foundation, there can be no extensive economic, cultural, scientific, or other kind of cooperation, which is something our society is so interested in.

You know well from our history that in their quest for independence guarantees, our ancestors would often turn to France. I cannot say that the situation is the same today but, probably, one of the most important challenges for all countries on our continent is the art of building good relations with a country such as France as well as other countries.

I think the fact that France is a permanent member of the Security Council is very important. The settlement and resolution of such complex issues as the conflict in Abkhazia as well as other conflicts in the entire [?Caucasus] region and the planet depend on France's position. It was very important for us to see for ourselves how they understand us in France and whether or not we should count on France's support in this regard. I must say that there cannot be two opinions that France understands Georgia's problems of territorial integrity and state unity as well as we do. They take our problems close to heart and understand them very well.

Now, if we look at this in the context of other countries, why, after all, do Georgia and France have common interests? I would give a very general answer. This is because they are equally interested—perhaps, we are interested even more—in the building of a new Europe. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] The treaty you signed in Paris is not an ordinary treaty.

[Shevardnadze] You noticed that and told me on the plane [from Paris to Tbilisi] that this treaty was slightly different from some other treaties. That is right, since it reflects the Paris Charter, which we have just joined. As I have said before, it was the second time I signed it, but now in a different capacity [reference to the signing of the Paris Charter by Shevardnadze as Soviet Foreign Minister]. This time I did it in Georgian, which is also important.

Apart from that, there are direct interests, such as economic relations with France. Forget everything else, we now subsist on EC credits. Once we received 70 million ECUs, then 40 million was allocated. There is now hope for another 10-15 million. We can have some hope for the future. We should not forget that EC credits do not fall from the sky. They are the resources of these European states. The FRG's share in this is 60-65 percent. I again want to remember with gratitude Chancellor Kohl's special appeal to the EC leadership to allocate credit to Georgia, which will get us through some more time. We should also not forget that France's share in this exceeds 20 percent. When I told Mr. Mitterrand that we are in economic hardship, he reminded me that France has done what it could by contributing its share and supporting the Georgian appeal. [passage omitted]

I think it was a timely visit and a useful visit. Perhaps it came a little too late. However, neither the French nor ourselves are to blame for that. There were simply some objective reasons.

[Oniani] Thank you. Batono Eduard, you have said that your position toward the ruble zone will become clear after your visits. There have already been two visits. There were visits to France and Turkey. In France, you met with representatives of financial circles. You met with Economics Minister Alphandery and with Jean-Claude Paye, secretary-general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Has your position toward the ruble zone become clear?

[Shevardnadze] No, when I said: After the visits, I did not have only the visit to France in mind. First of all, I had in mind Boris Yeltsin's visit to Georgia and meetings with him and his colleagues. A lot will be decided here. However, this is not all either.

I am planning a visit to the United States, to Washington, which will probably take place in the next few weeks [dekada]. There will be contacts with the administration, which, of course, will be very important. However, my meetings with the Monetary Fund and the Reconstruction Bank will also be very important. If we receive some kind of a guarantee regarding the creation of a stabilization fund, we will then be able to struggle with more determination for our national currency, for the strengthening of the national currency, and so on. If such guarantees are not received, then we should look for another way.

Therefore, all options are gradually becoming clear in the course of these visits. I have options but I think it is too early to speak about them.

I do not know whether or not we will return to this topic but I would like to point out in a couple of words the importance of our meetings with regard to the conferment on Georgia of the status of a developing country. I do not know if you have a question on this. I would say that it was our first contact with this institute [not specified], whose headquarters is in France. The main result is that we agreed that a large group of representatives of this organization will visit Georgia. We also agreed on the approximate time of the visit. [passage omitted]

I would like to remember with special gratitude my meeting with UNESCO Secretary-general Federico Mayor. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] You had a busy schedule in Paris. There were 15 official meetings in the course of two days as well as beautiful ceremonies [words indistinct]. On the second day of the visit you met with Swiss Ambassador Brunner. At the end of the second day UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali arrived.

We remember that prior to your departure for France you had a rather difficult debate in parliament in connection with Abkhazian issues. Did your position toward Abkhazia change after the meetings with Mr. Ghali and Mr. Brunner? Or perhaps you became even more convinced that your position was right.

[Shevardnadze] These were extremely important meetings. They were followed by my request to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Chikvaidze, and a similar request made today to Georgian negotiator Sandro Kavsadze, and Zurab Erkvania, chairman of the Abkhaz Council of Ministers, to travel to Moscow. My conclusion is that some of our approaches are to be sorted out with Russia. Russia has its own version of a UN Security Council draft resolution. However, judging by our talk with the secretary general, there is a lot of work to be done on this draft. We must by all means prepare our own draft. We worked late into the night yesterday and it has already been prepared.

For me, the purpose of this meeting was to find out how the UN secretary-general perceived the peace process and its stages. The main element in this process is the adoption of a new Security Council resolution. It is important how specific it will be and how it will reflect the interests of Georgia as a whole, including, of course, the interests of Abkhazia.

I must say that many of my colleagues look in a simplified way at the adoption of resolutions. Meanwhile, it is a most complicated process. The secretary general told

me that we should not look at this as if Georgia was guaranteed the passage of a resolution which would bring peace in a very short time. It will be very difficult. There are various drafts. Three or four possible drafts were listed, each of which could be adopted. However, major and serious work is necessary for that. Not only with the secretary general. He gave me a guarantee that he would struggle for it to be a perfect resolution which will determine the future of peace in Abkhazia. At the same time, major work must be carried out with permanent members of the Security Council. A plan of how to carry out this most difficult activity was also outlined.

Of course, I became convinced again that discussing with the secretary general any other way of solving the Abkhaz conflict but a peaceful one would be simply absurd. And I think that rejecting a peaceful way today would rejecting one's own self. It is impermissible even to talk about it. Even talking about it must be ruled out. If any of the above-mentioned drafts is adopted, it will mean that there is a realistic way of settlement.

I must take issue with some. Those who talk most of a military solution think the least about it. Those who think that such a solution is possible talk the least about this option. That is how it is in general.

I think that behind many such statements—I do not mean people who are embittered, those who were persecuted and tortured, perhaps this is how they feel—are partisan and selfish interests, which overshadow a realistic attitude toward conflict settlement in Abkhazia.

I attach extremely great importance to this meeting. It was a warm and constructive meeting.

[Oniani] You have just mentioned in your answer that after the talks with Butrus-Ghali and Ambassador Brunner it became clear that we must agree our position with Russia. [Words indistinct] financial circles in Paris suggested to us that our relations with European countries would to a large degree depend on how good our relations with Russia are, whether we like it or not. You had talks with many politicians, including the president. Does Europe perceive and see the threat which exists in Russia? I mean the personnel changes, the increased activity of profascist forces, for example, in relation to the French president. Mr. Zhirinovskiy spoke in terrible terms about Francois Mitterrand. How well do they perceive the profascist threat in Russia?

[Shevardnadze] I think that behind some politicians' statements that Georgia should build normal and good relations with Russia, is a great desire to see stability in Georgia. The French believe that normal relations with Russia, as we say, new relations, are some kind of a guarantee of stability. And not only the French think so. In general, Western business circles believe that good relations among the countries of the former Soviet Union—and I am talking about Russia's new role in this connection; I will return to this subject some other time—are some kind of a guarantee of stability. Business does not work without stability and it is natural that financial circles are interested in stability. This is the main interest of businessmen.

Second, as far as the coming to the fore of profascism is concerned, which you have just mentioned, my impression is that France as well as other countries in Europe and the world are no less concerned about this than we are. During our meetings in France we again expressed the wish that the democratic way of development should be supported in any possible way [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

## Ambassador Welcomes Yeltsin's Upcoming Visit

*LD2401195994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1816 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—A high-ranking Georgian official welcomed the upcoming signing of the friendship treaty between Russia and Georgia as an event of paramount importance for Georgia.

"The treaty of friendship, good neighbourly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia which is expected to be signed during the first official visit to Georgia by the Russian president on February 3-4 will be epoch-making for Georgia," Georgian Ambassador to Russia Valeryan Advadze said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday, Advadze said "we have gone a long way while preparing the treaty. We have overcome many obstacles on our way. But today we are on the last lap. This has become possible due to the efforts of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze."

He stressed that Yeltsin's visit to independent Georgia will signify that "it has been recognised by the great neighbour." "The upcoming visit of the Russian president to Georgia will help restore human relations between the people of the two countries," the ambassador said.

During the visit, the two leaders also plan to sign agreements on trade and economic cooperation, on the status of Russian border troops in Georgia, on cooperation in transportation, on the resettlement of refugees and other documents.

## Envoy on Patsatsia Visit to Moscow, Plans

*LD2101134994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] The agreements to be signed during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Georgia have practically been finalized, Georgia's ambassador to Russia said.

Valerian Advadze told INTERFAX that Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Ukleba, who has

arrived in Moscow with Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, would stay in the Russian capital to clarify whatever unclear points might remain in the agreements.

According to well-informed sources, Patsatsia, whose visit ended on Friday, and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin gave consideration to 19 documents to be signed during Yeltsin's visit, scheduled for February 3-4.

The documents include a treaty of friendship and cooperation, agreements on trade and economic cooperation for 1994, free trade, the status of Russian border troops in Georgia, transport cooperation, water transport of cargo, and scientific and technological cooperation.

The two prime ministers also discussed the possibility of Russia extending its last year's credit to Georgia for this year and providing a new credit in addition to it, and of Russia's assistance in rebuilding Georgia's Black Sea ports of Poti and Batumi.

Ambassador Advadze said Georgia had asked Russia for credits worth tens of billions of rubles. Chernomyrdin "paid very serious attention to our problems, but couldn't give us a final answer because the budget hasn't yet been approved in Russia," Advadze said.

The ambassador said Georgia mainly needed the credits to keep its fuel and energy complex going, in particular to buy natural gas, residual fuel oil, gasolene, etc. Georgia imports up to 80 percent of its energy, he said.

### Commercial Representation in Azerbaijan Begins

*AU2001073294 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 11 Jan 94 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "A Republic of Georgia Commercial and Economic Representation in the Republic of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] In order to extend commercial and economic relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Azerbaijan, by a decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, a Republic of Georgia commercial and economic representation has been set up in the Republic of Azerbaijan (Baku).

### Representations Set Up in Austria, Slovakia

*AU2001073094 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 14 Jan 94 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers. On the Establishment of a Republic of Georgia Commercial and Economic Representation in the Republics of Austria and Slovakia"]

[Text] In order to extend commercial and economic relations between the Republic of Georgia and the republics of Austria and Slovakia and systematize these relations, by a decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, a Republic of Georgia commercial and economic representation has been established in the republics of Austria and Slovakia (Vienna) and a branch of this representation has been set up in Slovakia (Bratislava).

### Family Delays Forensic Exam of Gamsakhurdia

*LD2401162394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1524 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 Jan—Four forensic experts from Russia, Germany, and Great Britain, who have spent more than a week in Tbilisi in order to participate in a forensic examination of the body of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, intend to leave Georgia on 25 January.

Explaining the reasons for their departure, the experts stated that a decision on conducting the expert examination is being delayed for various reasons, in particular, it was noted, the family of the ex-president first and foremost is against this.

At the same time, the experts noted, if the Georgian Ministry of Health again invites them to the republic to take part in an expert examination, they intend to arrive in Tbilisi immediately.

### Investigator Details 'Genocide' in Abkhazia

*AU2401200194 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 13 Jan 94 p 1*

[Interview with Deputy Procurator General Anzor Baluashvili, head of the group investigating Abkhazian war crimes, by unidentified SAKINFORM correspondent; place and date not given: "The Abkhazian Tragedy Is a Crime Against Humanity"]

[Text]**Atrocious crimes have been committed by Abkhazian separatists against the Georgian population in Abkhazia. As is known to the general public, criminal proceedings have been instituted in the Republic of Georgia Procurator's Office concerning the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population that has been living on this ancient Georgian land. Regarding these facts, the investigation has already acquired numerous pieces of evidence that very clearly show the Abkhazian separatists' cruelty toward the peaceful population. Taking into account the very great interest of the public toward the investigation, our editor's office is continuing its series of publications on this subject. Anzor Baluashvili, head of the investigation group and the republic's deputy procurator general, spoke to a SAKINFORM correspondent about the incidence of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population on the territory of Abkhazia by Abkhazian separatists.**

[Baluashvili] Absolutely horrific facts are being established on the basis of research: The organized genocide of the native Georgian population on the territory of Abkhazia by Abkhazian separatists and their reactionary

henchmen. The conspiracy to between the organizers, perpetrators, and accomplices in this most serious crime is clearly evident. With the aim of violating the territorial integrity of the Georgian state, Abkhazian separatists slaughtered, in an organized way and on a massive scale, thousands of completely innocent people who were sacrificed only because they were of Georgian nationality. With the same aim, hundreds of thousands of indigenous Georgians were expelled from their homes, which action was accompanied by indescribable terror, physical and psychological violence, violation of the honor and dignity of citizens, devastation of homes and destruction of family belongings, the stealing of livestock and hijacking of vehicles. The Georgian people were subject to conditions that would have resulted in their certain annihilation had they remained on this territory.

Certain people are vainly trying to deny that the genocide of the Georgian population took place in Abkhazia and explain the events as the cruelty that takes place during time of war. We state openly that this is an attempt to mislead the international public. The investigation will make available to any interested person the materials in its possession, to prove that systematic ethnic cleansing did indeed take place on the territory of Abkhazia.

Moreover, several issues of the newspaper would probably not suffice to simply list the biographical details of those persons who were killed by the Abkhazian separatists and their hirelings. Those who were slaughtered did not participate in military operations. You cannot find an Abkhazian town, rayon, and village where reprisals were not perpetrated against the Georgian population. In practice, military actions in Abkhazia ended following the fall of Sukhumi on 27 September 1993. However, the investigation has gathered numerous pieces of evidence testifying to the slaughter of the Georgian population on a massive scale after military actions had ended. The investigators know with what inhuman cynicism and brutality the band of separatist criminals raped women and then cut off their breasts while they were still alive and even raped young girls who had not attained puberty and cut off their nipples and kept them in matchboxes. I state publicly that this testimony can be corroborated not only by Georgians but also by Greeks, Armenians, Russians, and representatives of other nationalities. In order for the world to assess the tragedy perpetrated by the fascists in Abkhazia in an objective and comprehensive manner, I believe it is essential that international organizations become immediately involved in the investigation. I believe that riffraff have surfaced at the end of the 20th century, the spread of whose lifestyle causes wounds that will not heal among millions of inhabitants of different countries. According to the testimony of some people, it has also become known that, after killing innocent people, the vandals attached the following types of inscriptions to the bodies of the victims: "Georgians, don't eat a lot, don't get fat. It's unpleasant for us to drag your corpses." One cannot read without feeling revulsion the testimony of eyewitnesses that describes how, in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Sukhumi, the following people were slaughtered on Tsereteli Street: A. Gadelia, O. Gegechkori, U. Kvaratskhelia, J. Dgebuadze, T. Kakuberi- Gvakhariasi, and S. Kakuberi, and also the Sukhumians J. Dartsmelia, the Zakradze brothers, Sh. Kacharava, Eter and Zaira Abramia, Z. Kalandia, B. Pipia, V. Jimsheleishvili, Ts. Sharia, V. Kvachakhia, A. Kintsurashvili, D. Kopaliani, and M. Kvirchkhaia. Thousands of Georgian families residing in Abkhazia shared the same fate as Nugzar Varlamis dze [son of Varlam] Jimsheleishvili, former Abkhazian Cabinet of Ministers engineer. His father, Varlam Noes [son of Noe] Jimsheleishvili was taken prisoner, his home was ransacked, and his mother Babutsa Pipia and mother-in-law Mzia Kalandia were tortured to death. For specific reasons, I am unable to disclose the identity of 80-year old L.B. He was tortured to death and his foster child I.T., who was of Russian nationality, was shot at his grave for the sole reason that he had dared to bury a Georgian. 60-year-old M. Shonia, who was being sheltered in a neighbor's apartment, was killed with similar cruelty, as were 68- year old N. Mirtskhulava, and the couple V. and A. Kvaratskhelidze and V. Arghvliani.

According to information acquired in the course of the investigation, people of Georgian nationality were shot individually and in groups. I repeat that it is possible to present a multitude of analogous facts. A description of the tragedy played out in Gali rayon and the facts about the slaughter there could become the subject of a separate long discussion.

The investigation into the circumstances surrounding the brutal murder of Jiuli Shartava, chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers, and his associates is continuing. According to additional materials received by the investigation, it is patently clear that, following the capture of Giuli Shartava and his associates in Sukhumi, Abkhazian separatists tortured them to death with particular cruelty. Before being killed, they were violently tortured, which has been clearly corroborated by forensic examination; additional testimony was provided by witnesses and other evidence. It is confirmed beyond a doubt that the murder of J. Shartava, employees of the Abkhazian Cabinet of Ministers, and other persons was sanctioned by those who provoked the armed conflict against the Georgian state and its people, which subsequently took the form of large-scale military operations.

[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA editorial note] During the course of the investigation, a clear picture is emerging of the identity of those persons who, on the instructions of the Abkhazian separatists, carried out the genocide of the peaceful population. The materials that have been gathered show that the tragedy played out in Abkhazia is a crime against humanity and, therefore, as Anzor Baluashvili, the republic's deputy procurator general, stated, those who participated in this crime should be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

### Abkhaz Organization Protests Russian Troops

*LD2401212694 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The heads of Abkhazia's liberation organization held a press conference in Tbilisi. The chairman of the organization, Boris Kakubava, member of the Georgian parliament; the political secretary, Malkhaz Pataraia; and Abkhazia's military commissar, Vakhtang Vekua, answered journalists' questions.

Boris Kakubava blamed the government because for four months, since handing over Abkhazia, it had done nothing for the return to Abkhazia, in the same way as we were evicted from there.

They criticized sharply the Geneva talks. We are not against talks, said Kakubava, but we must have a reserve of permanent armed forces and must not allow the Russian troops under the auspices of the UN into Abkhazia.

The members of the organization expressed the wish that as of now, representatives of the evicted population of Abkhazia participate in talks on settling the conflict. They protested against the return of refugees in the Gali rayon and justified their protest by the fact that it was being conducted under the jurisdiction of the [Abkhaz] separatists and that the civilians would have no security guarantees. Our only aim is to return to Abkhazia, said Boris Kakubava, and every lost day makes it unlikely.

### Abkhaz Deputy Responds to Council Chairman

*LD2401221394 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Abkhazia's mass media reports that Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of Abkhazia's Supreme Council, in an interview with Abkhaz television said that only those Georgian refugees who had not participated in the war and had not shed blood in Abkhazia could return to Abkhazia.

A SAKINFORM [Georgian press agency] correspondent, Tengiz Pachkoria, asked Akaki Gasviani, deputy chairman of Abkhazia's Council of Ministers, to comment on this statement.

Gasviani said: We consider Ardzinba's statement to reflect an attempt to revise and reconsider the Geneva agreement envisaging the return of all refugees. Ardzinba and his supporters, who on several occasions violated the Sochi agreement on settling the Abkhaz conflict peacefully, are now trying to violate the Geneva agreements and the communique. Obviously, the return of dozens of thousands of refugees to the Gali and Abkhazia's other rayons is not suitable for them. This statement by Ardzinba is a fresh attempt at holding the Georgian population and the Georgian Government responsible for the actions committed by the Abkhaz and the north Caucasian combatants who had killed and pillaged the civilian population of the autonomous republic—Georgians, Russians, Greeks, and others—and for the combatants' actions—bombing and shelling residential areas of Sukhumi and Abkhazia's other towns and rayons. As for the criminal offenses committed in Abkhazia in 1992-93, we must investigate thoroughly these instances, and criminal proceedings must be instituted against perpetrators irrespective of their nationality.

### Leader Denounced for Barring Georgian Refugees

*LD2401155994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Tbilisi January 24 TASS—A Georgian top official has denounced Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba for his statement barring Georgian refugees who fought on the side of Georgian troops from returning to Abkhazia.

Ardzinba told Abkhazian television that only those Georgian refugees who have not "stained themselves with blood" may return to Abkhazia.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday, Akaky Gasviani, a vice- prime minister of the Georgian government-in-exile of Abkhazia, described Ardzinba's statement as "an attempt to revise and reconsider the Geneva agreements envisaging the return to Abkhazia of refugees of all nationalities irrespective of their participation in combat activities."

He said the Abkhazian leadership "is obviously not happy about the return of several dozen thousand refugees to the Gali and other districts of Abkhazia and it is trying, under various pretexts, to obstruct the process of their return."

Gasviani stressed that Ardzinba's statement "is a new attempt to shift the responsibility for the activities of Abkhazian and North Caucasian militants who robbed and killed civilians in Abkhazia—Georgians, Russians, Greeks and people of other nationalities—in September-December 1993 to the Georgian population and Georgian authorities."

### 'Improving' Situation in West Georgia Noted

*AU2001205694 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 6 Jan 94 p 3*

[Interview with Givi Lominadze, state minister and chairman of the Temporary Committee for the State of Emergency in Western Georgia, by Armaz Saneblidze in Senaki; date not given: "Turning Back"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Saneblidze] **A person arriving in Samegrelo [Mingrelia, former stronghold of Zviad Gamsakhurdia] can see that the mood has obviously changed. The local situation is gradually improving. Batono Givi, is this really the case?**

[Lominadze] That is correct. As someone who is involved in affairs here 24 hours a day and for whom

such a change should apparently be less noticeable, I can indeed see that it has changed. Compared with the first few weeks, there is a big difference. The situation has clearly improved. [passage omitted]

However, believe me when I say in all seriousness that we are a long way from achieving stability. I cannot say that everything has already been put right in western Georgia. More or less, only more or less.

If, for example, we are not facing the problem of violent interference on the part of the opposing side and an exacerbation of the situation in both the Guria and Imereti zones and in Samtredia, Vani, and Khoni where this question is no longer on the agenda, we can expect complications at any moment in Zugdidi, Tsalenjikha, Chkhorotsqu, and Senaki.

This we know from information and analytical materials in our possession and from having our finger on the pulse of the sociopolitical life in this region. I do not exclude that one fine day, a certain armed force will burst into Zugdidi or Senaki or Khobi or Tsalenjikha or Chkhorotsqu and declare that they have restored the jurisdiction of the legal authorities, as they call them.

As I have said, there is no danger of this occurring in the rayons of Guria and Imereti. However, they are faced with all those economic and social problems that exist throughout Georgia; these are being felt more painfully as the local population has experienced the fear of weapons and insults on the part of the supporters of the ex-president.

Compared with other areas of Samegrelo, the situation is different in Poti. There, economic and social problems have to be resolved, although I would say that the criminal situation is stable—at least, it is under control.

There is a difference regarding economic and political problems themselves: For example, there is one set of such problems in Senaki and Poti and another in Tsalenjikha and Chkhorotsqu. Sometimes the difference is sharp.

Finally, I would say that the difference between what we encountered there first and the situation today is like that between day and night.

Naturally, it would have been desirable to have gotten the factories and establishments working more quickly, but this would have been the best that we could have expected.

What did we first encounter? The railway was destroyed; there were no buses; naturally, there was no gas or electricity; the medical establishments were ransacked; there was no bread or water. There was nothing. There were more than 200 destroyed houses in Senaki alone; the people were frightened. The situation was the same in Abasha and Khobi and the towns and villages were so empty that it seemed that no one was left alive.

What are things like today? All the tea-processing plants are functioning as best they can given the reduced electric power supplies. We arrived just in time as the sanitary conditions were so bad that all kinds of infections could have broken out at any moment. Our most pressing problem during the first 10 days was cleaning up the towns.

Stability will only come when justice reigns, law and order is established, and the factories and establishments are working.

The realization of these factors will save the whole of Georgia and western Georgia, in particular.

We probably need to conduct the merciless struggle against bandit formations for one to one and a half years. Do not think that all those people who have gone into the woods will give themselves up, lay down their weapons, stand at the side of the road or go back to the tea plantations or do what they were doing before.

They will not do this; they have gotten used to doing no work. Armed with machine guns, they can appear on the highway and obtain in five minutes what they would have earned in 10 years. Try convincing those people now to lay down their weapons, as this will be good for them and necessary for Georgia and to go back to picking tea leaves. A difficult thing, don't you think?

[Saneblidze]**Of course.**

[Lominadze] It is difficult but absolutely necessary and it has to be done through systematic and purposeful propaganda and actions and not, as some leaders imagine, by thinking that, having entered these places, there is nothing else for us to do but sit idly by and wait for the results.

This was precisely the mood when we entered Abkhazia. Yes, we did get from the Inguri River to Sukhumi! However, we did not advance further. It is well known what the consequences of this were for us. The same thing could possibly happen here as well.

There was no hand-to-hand combat in Senaki or Khobi or Zugdidi or anywhere else. However, although those armed people have dispersed, they still exist, do they not? Of course they do. Who can guarantee to us that they will not unite again or will not use those socioeconomic problems that exist in reality for their own purposes? No one.

Finally, there is a trend toward an improvement of the situation. However, we must not relax our efforts for a single moment. [passage omitted]

### Ioseliani: Mkhedrioni 'Must Liquidate Themselves'

*LD2101152094 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] In Jaba Ioseliani's opinion, the Mkhedrioni [horsemen; pro-governmental militia] units must liquidate themselves. Jaba Ioseliani, the leader of the Mkhedrioni, the chairman of the interim committee for emergencies in Georgia, in a conversation with journalists, when asked as to which structures should the Mkhedrioni members be united, answered that it was a personal affair of each member of the organization, though most of them would, probably, enter the rescue corps.

### Agrarian Party of Georgia Founded

*LD1901211694 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1629 GMT 19 Jan 94*

[Text] In connection with a great festival of the Orthodox world, Epiphany, and to overcome the most serious political and economic crisis in Georgia, the unification of all parties and political movements representing agriculture in the republic happened today. They were joined by a number of members of the Democratic Party and the societies Lemi and Mamuli [Homeland].

A unified Agrarian Party of Georgia was founded. The head of the Agrarian Commission of the Georgian Parliament and an agricultural sciences doctor, Roin Liparteliani, was unanimously elected party chairman.

### Minimum Salaries, Grants, Benefits Increased

*AU2401105994 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 13 Jan 94 p 1*

["Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers Decree on Measures Aimed at Further Improving the Social Protection of the Population of the Republic of Georgia" issued in Tbilisi on 11 January]

[Text] In connection with the increase in the prices of and tariffs on consumer goods and services and the fall in the exchange rate of the coupon, with the aim of socially protecting the population, the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers decrees:

1. As of 15 January 1994, to fix the minimum level of labor remuneration (salaries, wage rates, and so forth) on the whole territory of the Republic of Georgia at 50,000 (fifty thousand) coupons per month.

Proceeding from this, the wage rates and salaries of workers employed in establishments and organizations provided for in the budget, defense and law enforcement and administrative bodies, and those of state power and management (except the Ministry of Security), all types of supplements and allowances, and hourly labor rates of workers for study purposes are to be increased by 100 percent, while pensions for non-working pensioners, with the exception of those whose pensions were regulated by measures implemented as of 1 January 1994, and allowances and benefits for people having the status of unemployed persons, refugees, and forcibly displaced persons are to be raised by 150 percent.

2. To fix the amount of family allowance as follows:

a) maternity allowance paid as a lump sum—100 (one hundred) thousand coupons;

b) minimum wage:

—50 percent—for the care of children up to the age of a year and a half;

—40 percent—for the care of children aged from a year and a half to six years and pupils aged between six and 16 (18) attending primary school, incomplete [arasruli] secondary school, or secondary school, and also students (pupils) in state higher, specialized secondary, and professional educational establishments (colleges) and commercial institutions who are not working and not receiving grants, pensions, or social assistance;

—30 percent—for mothers of children aged up to 3 years and for those who are housewives and unemployed and who are not receiving any other kind of allowances (benefits) established by law;

c) monthly allowance for single mothers and parents not receiving alimony—50 percent of the minimum wage.

3. The amount of the grant for students in state higher institutions is to be fixed at 90 percent of the minimum wage for students with A grades, 80 percent for students whose have received exclusively good grades or a combination of good and excellent grades, and 70 percent for the remainder of students who have achieved academic success; these amounts are to be fixed at 70, 65, and 60 percent respectively for students in state secondary specialized educational establishments; the grant for A-grade students in state professional educational establishments is to be fixed at 60 percent of the minimum wage and at 50 percent for the remaining students.

Special scholarships and other grants awarded to students, sportsmen, postgraduates, and Ph.D students are to be increased by 100 percent.

4. The amount of the death grant is to be fixed at 150 (one hundred and fifty) thousand coupons.

5. The wage rates and salaries of workers employed in establishments and organizations provided for in the budget, defense and law enforcement and administrative bodies, and those of state power and management, all kinds of supplements and allowances and hourly labor rates of workers for study purposes, pensions for non-working pensioners, allowances and benefits for people having the status of unemployed persons, refugees, and forcibly displaced persons are to be raised monthly by 20 percent as of 1 March 1994.

6. The payment of regular vacations is to be calculated according to the previous month's salaries (wage rates).

7. Proceeding from this decree, the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Labor and Social Protection is to elaborate and approve instructions and recommendations in coordination with the Republic of Georgia Social Security and Medical Insurance Single State Fund and the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances.

8. Republic of Georgia ministries, committees, departments, the National Bank, and state commercial banks are to ensure that wages, grants, pensions, and allowances are paid without hindrance.

[Signed] O. Patsatsia, Republic of Georgia prime minister

Tbilisi, 11 January 1994

## Estonia

### Withdrawal Talks With Russia Rescheduled

*WS2101122494 Tallinn BNS in English 0731 GMT 21 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 20, BNS—The next round of intergovernmental talks between Estonia and Russia are to be held in a location near Moscow on Feb. 1-2.

The talks, originally scheduled for Jan. 18-19, were postponed at Russia's request after the Russian delegation leader Vasiliy Svirin was reported to have fallen ill.

The two parties reached agreement on the new date of the talks on Jan. 20, said Ago Tiiman, secretary of the Estonian delegation. Russia has said it will this time present a detailed timetable for the withdrawal of its troops from Estonia.

Russia in the last round of talks suggested Aug. 31, 1994, as the final deadline for the pullout. Estonia has agreed in principle with the deadline but says Russia still must present a timetable showing the terms for the withdrawal of each major unit.

The head of the Estonian delegation, Vaino Reinart, has earlier said the presenting of the timetable won't affect the final deadline.

### Bill Submitted Seeking To Mark Soviet Annexation

*WS2401205994 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1711 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] 53 deputies of the Estonian 101-member parliament on Monday presented the Riigikogu [parliament] a draft statement on asking parliaments of UN members states to acknowledge that the Baltic countries were in 1940 occupied and later annexed by the Soviet Union.

The draft statement also asks the parliaments of the countries to put pressure on Russia so that the legal successor of the defunct Soviet Union would condemn the 1940 annexation and the following genocide against the people of the countries.

Estonian parliamentary foreign relations commission has discussed the draft twice and a consensus has been achieved between different parties, Vardo Rumessen from the Estonian National Independence Party said upon handing over the draft.

Estonia wants international community to understand that the large number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union is a direct result of the annexation, following genocide and Russification.

### Russian Embassy Reports 42,300 Nationals in Country

*WS2401154994 Tallinn BNS in English 1338 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 24, BNS—Russian embassy officials in Tallinn have said there are 42,300 legal Russian residents living in Estonia, the Estonian Minister of Population, Peeter Olesk, said before the parliament today.

Estonian authorities don't know who these people are, because the Russian embassy has refused to reveal the names of its country's citizens here, Olesk said.

"Russian Ambassador Alexander Trofimov told me at the end of last year that the names were not to be revealed because the people had so requested for the fear of persecution. Some kind of possibility to check who these people are will come up when the Citizenship and Migration Department starts receiving applications for excluding these people from Estonian citizenship," the Estonian minister said.

Only two such applications have been submitted so far.

Olesk said Russia was pursuing a policy of dual citizenship, when Russian citizens don't have to declare giving up the other country's citizenship," he said. Therefore it is impossible for Estonian authorities to know whether a person is a Russian citizen, holds dual citizenship or is a stateless person, Olesk added.

The minister said that about 11,000 persons had become naturalized Estonian citizens after the country regained its independence. He didn't rule out that some of them might be simultaneously Russian citizens.

He said it was in the interests of Estonia's national security to avoid the formation of a large Russian citizen community in Estonia. He said massive presence of legal Russian citizens in Estonia would provide Russia with good opportunity to interfere with Estonia's internal affairs and prompt the Russian-speakers to set territorial claims.

### Bill To Discharge Army Commander Submitted

*WS2401205894 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1758 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] An Estonian parliament MP on Monday presented the Riigikogu [parliament] a bill on discharging Major General Aleksander Einseln, the head of the Estonian army.

Katrin Linde said in her statement that according to statutes of the headquarters of the Estonian Defence Forces, the head of the headquarters must also be head of the army.

The head of the headquarters is Colonel Ants Laaneots.

Nugis, the speaker of the Riigikogu, said the bill contradicted the constitution.

Linde claimed that according to the law regulating military service of Estonian officers, any officer older than 60 must be discharged from armed forces. Einseln is 63. Linde also said that according to the same law, no officer could be granted higher military rank than he had had while serving in a foreign army.

Estonian Riigikogu on May 4 last year adopted a bill making retired U.S. Colonel Einseln head of the Estonian army. President Lennart Meri later made him Major General.

### Official: Country Charted by European Standards

*WS2001210894 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1849 GMT 20 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, January 20—According to a cooperation programme between Estonia and Sweden, concluded in September last year, Estonian Chart Centre will finish work on a complete and thorough up-to-date Estonian map, based on satellite photos, by the end of 1995, Heiki Potter of the State Land Board told ETA.

The final cost of the project is 11 million Estonian kroons (about 785,714 USD), 85 percent of which will be financed by Sweden.

According to an agreement between the Estonian Land Board and Swedish Satellitbild corporation, Sweden will be responsible for the satellite photos, digital data basis and necessary equipment to decode and interpret the data. The new system will allow continuous renewal of the basic map, survey of environmental situation and of how natural resources are used in Estonia. 1,000 maps will be printed at the beginning for the use of state and municipality institutions.

### No Funds on Hand for Setting Up Internment Camp

*WS2401111794 Tallinn BNS in English 1255 GMT 22 Jan 94*

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 22, BNS—Estonia at the moment has no funds available for building an internment camp for illegal immigrants, said the Minister of Justice Kaido Kama.

Kama told BNS today that construction and repair work on the facilities of a former prison guards' military unit base at Rummu would cost about 20 million kroons.

The project currently is in its initial stages.

"The Police Department says the camp must be designed for at least 500 persons," the minister said. He said it was still not clear whether the camp really needed to be as large as this.

The government on Sept. 14 ruled that the internment camp was to be located at Rummu, some 35 km to the southwest of Tallinn. Other possible locations discussed before that date included a former Soviet Army disciplinary correction unit camp at Paldiski, the Harku detention camp on the outskirts of Tallinn, and a former Communist Pioneer youth organization camp near the Tallinn.

### Fate of Kurdish Refugees 'Unclear'

*WS2401205694 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1758 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The future of Kurdish refugees in Estonia remains unclear as they have no documents and no country is willing to accept them, Valeri Kravets, deputy director of the National Board of Corrections, said in an interview with ETA.

At present, 35 Kurdish refugees, nine of them children and 11 women, stay at Harku prison near Tallinn, Kravets said. None of them holds any document, let alone visas, Kravets said while adding they had arrived in Estonia illegally from either Russia or Latvia, but Estonia could not send them back without documents.

The number of Kurdish refugees was the biggest in September (63), Kravets said. Those who had money and connections left for Sweden while others just sit and wait, he added.

No solution is near, Kravets said. Finland has hinted at accepting them, but no formal promises have been made, Kravets said.

In addition to above-mentioned refugees who had arrived in Estonia earlier, three Kurds had been detained at the Port of Tallinn on an attempt to board a ship to Sweden, Kravets said.

## Latvia

### Factions Jointly Prepare Citizenship Draft Law

*LD2401201694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] The nationalist factions "Movement for Latvia's National Independence" and "Fatherland and Freedom" of the Latvian Saeima (parliament) today jointly prepared a draft law on citizenship to be submitted for referendum.

According to the draft law, Latvian citizenship could be granted only to ethnic Latvians who have returned to the republic; those legally residing in Latvia before 1940 but lacking citizenship; spouses of Latvian citizens living on the Latvian territory over 10 years and citizens of Lithuania and Estonia permanently residing in the republic.

In addition, the factions proposed setting the annual quotas for granting citizenship at 0.1

of the Latvian population. At the moment, it is about 1900 persons a year.

The authors of the draft law propose the beginning of the naturalization be linked with the ultimate withdrawal of Russian troops.

At a press conference, they pointed out that their proposals were an alternative to the document prepared by the ruling coalition, encompassing the factions "Latvian Way" and "Peasants' Union," which was passed in the first reading last December.

This draft law stipulates that the Latvian citizenship could be granted to former citizens of the Soviet Union permanently residing in Latvia for over 10 years and having command of the Latvian language. The annual naturalization quota will be set by the republican government.

### Saeima Chairman, U.S. Congressman Discuss Support

*WS2501111694 Riga LETA in English 0825 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Riga, January 24 (LETA)—Last Friday [21 January] the chairman of the Latvian parliament, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, met the U.S. Republican congressman, James Sensenbrenner, and the U.S. ambassador to Latvia, Ints Silins.

During the talks Sensenbrenner reaffirmed the continued support of the U.S. Congress and Administration to the Latvian sovereignty. The guest underlined that the U.S. Congress had no differences concerning the fast withdrawal of the Russian troops from Latvia. He reminded that aid to Russia was closely linked to security issues. If Russia threatens any neighbouring country, the congress would immediately cancel the aid programme, he said.

Gorbunovs thanked the United States for support and added that Latvia was concerned about the recent remarks by the Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. He voiced the necessity of international control over the removal of the Russian troops from Latvia, especially concerning the future of the radar base in Skrunda, as Russia rejected the term of three years proposed by the Latvian Government. The Latvian parliament could consider other suggestions only if concrete international guarantees were provided for.

The U.S. ambassador to Latvia assured that the United States would not regard the Russian presence at the Skrunda base for a definite period of time as a proof that Latvia was within the Russian sphere of interests. He said that a U.S. delegation would arrive in Latvia at the weekend to discuss further bilateral military cooperation.

Sensenbrenner also said that he was willing to meet a delegation of Latvian legislators that could visit the United States at the end of February to study the lawmaking practices at the U.S. Congress.

### Concept of Internal Security Has Been Worked Out

*WS2501111494 Riga LETA in English 0825 GMT 25 Jan 94*

[Text] Riga, January 24 (LETA)—Experts from the fund "For Internal Security of Latvia" worked out a conception of stabilization and strengthening of internal security of Latvia. Today, the main task for the Republic is actual security of economic and political independence of Latvia, said Ivars Kezbers, the fund's adviser on external relations. According to the conception, concrete events will be executed in order that juridical institutions daily and actually take care of security of Latvia's population and guarantee people human rights and freedoms. According to the conception, all structures fighting against crimes should be united in the institution of state police.

In correspondence to the conception, only one department of counterintelligence and one department of intelligence service are necessary in Latvia. These two services should not be split into various other state institutions, as it is at present. In addition, one more special service is necessary in the Latvian Ministry of Defense. This service will deal with military counterintelligence.

### Only Citizens Can Be Informers for Security

*PM2401104794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 94 p 2*

[Irina Litvinova report: "Only Latvian 'Citizens' Have Right To Spy"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Seimas has adopted a "law on operational activity," whole sections of which provide broad scope for the special services. Correspondence can be monitored and secretly copied, conversations can be bugged, and people can be followed.

Operational activity relies on "cooperation with the population." Those who used to be called "informers" are now known as "secret assistants." Here too there was no getting away from the division between the rights of Latvian "citizens" and "noncitizens" (who comprise one-third of the population). Only "citizens" can collect information on other persons, facts, and cases—in other words, become "secret assistants."

### Changes in G-24 Credits' Distribution Sought

*WS2401152794 Tallinn BNS in English 1338 GMT 24 Jan 94*

[Text] Riga, Jan 24, BNS—The Foreign Assistance Coordination Commission looked through proposals to

change the procedure of distributing G-24 credits in Latvia, Finance Ministry's spokesman Valdis Freidenfelds told BNS.

In the commission's opinion, contracts on the delivery of equipment, raw materials or fuel should be paid through banks-distributors of the credit.

Recipients should directly receive no more than 15 percent of the total worth of a credit, the commission said. The regulation is designed to prevent financial machinations with credit money.

The group also reviewed the Indication Program, which is implemented in the framework of the PHARE [Poland and Hungary for Restructuring the Economy] program. In 1994, the program's funding will be used to finance economic, administrative and agricultural reforms.

The 1994 PHARE action mainstreams will be adopted in March in Brussels. Latvia could receive an estimated 21 million ECU's, specialists say.

The commission is headed by Finance Minister Uldis Osis, its members are Economics Minister Ojars Kehris, Economics Ministry's State Secretary Aina Bataraga and Bank of Latvia's Vice President Ilmars Rimasevics. It was set up in the end of 1993 in compliance with a government resolution.

### Slump in Farm Production in 1993 Reported

*WS2401121394 Tallinn BNS in English 1729 GMT 22 Jan 94*

[Text] Riga, Jan 22, BNS—The output of farm produce decreased 16 percent compared with last year, the Latvian State Statistics Committee reports.

From this, plant growing dropped 5 percent and cattle-breeding declined 22 percent.

The production of grain and sugar beet reduced 18 percent and 30 percent, respectively, over the last two years.

The total yield of potatoes and vegetables, however, is on the rise. It increased for at least one-third because of the expanding areas sown with these crops.

Farmers owned 90 percent (71 percent in 1991) potato planting areas and 95 percent (65 percent in 1991) vegetable sowing and planting areas.

The total amount of meat produced in 1993 was 281,000 tons, or 76 percent, the total amount of milk was 1,219,000, or 82 percent, the total amount of eggs 387,000,000, or 65 percent, compared with 1992.

## Lithuania

### Brazauskas on Domestic Issues, Russian Ties

*PM2401120194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 94 First Edition p 6*

[Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas by Yuriy Stroganov in Vilnius; date not given: "Algirdas Brazauskas: We Remain Good Neighbors"]

[Text] Vilnius—The figure of Algirdas Brazauskas, former secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, has long since ceased to be a bogeyman to the West. Britain and Germany have already overtaken Russia in terms of the quantity of resources invested in the republic's economy.

The former communists headed by Algirdas Brazauskas abandoned their former dogmas, renamed a section of the Communist Party of Lithuania the Democratic Labor Party, and won back the people's trust. At the 1992 elections they won a majority in the new parliament, known here as the Seimas. In February 1993 their leader became president. Our conversation with A. Brazauskas began with his heavy burden and the prospects facing the republic on its difficult road.

[Stroganov] Mr. President, in a public opinion poll conducted in Lithuania at the end of 1993 you were voted "man of the year," with opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis, your perpetual adversary, a long way behind. Why was that?

[Brazauskas] Presumably it was because of our party's political line, which is to do everything to ensure that the predominant factor in society is stability based on mutual understanding and respect for different opinions. And second, to carry out reforms at the least possible cost. It seems that people find this line acceptable.

[Stroganov] Is your workload as president different from that which you bore prior to the proclamation of independence, when you were head of what was then still the Lithuanian Soviet parliament and the Communist Party?

[Brazauskas] On 25 February, incidentally, it will be one year to the day since I entered office as president. The result of that year is this: Lithuania is living according to the Constitution adopted by universal suffrage. Almost all the institutions of power have been created according to the fundamental law: The Constitutional Court, the Seimas, and the government are functioning and there is now a new institution which did not exist a year ago—the President's Service.

It goes without saying that the president's workload is considerably different from my past work. Because you bear the responsibility not for such matters as the construction industry, for example, or the whole economy, but rather you feel responsible for the prosperity and the future of all Lithuania's citizens, all the

republic's population. The people's trust cannot be compared with the trust of the party Central Committee.

[Stroganov] One of the main arguments used by the opposition as it increases the pressure on the republic's authorities is that in the past year Lithuania's economic situation has not only not improved but has actually continued to worsen. Is that so?

[Brazauskas] Let us compare the figures. During 1993, when the government was being formed, the president was elected, and the Seimas began to operate, we managed to stop the national economy moving toward catastrophe. In the second half of 1993 signs of stabilization appeared. Income rose at approximately the same rate as expenditure. The rate of inflation slowed sharply. Recently it was in the range of 1-7 percent a month. Wages and pensions have risen monthly. The national currency has stabilized: A steady rate is being maintained.

Of course we have many problems. Take agriculture, for example. We did not have time to create an alternative to the former collective farm system. Everyone voted and we are voting for individual farming and the return of property. But this property must be used in such a way as to guarantee people incomes and the state a product. Unfortunately this has not been achieved yet. We have made some adjustments to the agricultural reform as it was previously conceived, but unfortunately this was late.

[Stroganov] On the subject of agriculture, a republic farmers' strike is being prepared. What is the background to this: Is it political or economic?

[Brazauskas] The opposition is demanding early elections. The Constitution and other laws do not rule out that possibility. However, I personally do not see any need for that. And I doubt that the people will support the idea of early elections.

However, the strike's organizers are trying to show the people that such questions are not being resolved and are arousing interest in fresh elections. A strike will not help matters, rather it will aggravate the situation for people in the countryside.

[Stroganov] Mr. President, in your view what is the present state of Russian-Lithuanian relations? How can they be developed further, in your opinion?

[Brazauskas] I regard our relations with Russia as normal. Agreements were signed on a whole series of questions, economic questions first of all, when Mr. Chernomyrdin visited Lithuania in mid-November. These agreements form the basis for the further development of relations. We are ready to deepen and improve those relations, bearing in mind that there is a situation here which does not exist in any of Russia's former Soviet republic neighbors. I mean the matter of Kaliningrad Oblast. I believe that the questions which the Russian Government is raising about ensuring the oblast's vital activity will be resolved and that talks will continue. This question is important both to Russia and to us—for our normal relations.

[Stroganov] Russia is first in terms of the number of joint ventures in Lithuania—there are almost 900 of them. But in terms of investments Russia is only in third place. This means that there are lots of small enterprises. I know that there are plans for the creation of large-scale joint ventures. But at the same time the Lithuanian opposition is actively working against them because it is afraid of the powerful influence of the Russian economy on the republic. What course will your government opt for?

[Brazauskas] The opposition's reacts touchily to this problem because it thinks that we are going to "sell Lithuania off lock, stock, and barrel." But I think that partnership in the economy and the development of economic ties with Russia will continue. We do not intend to discriminate against it in the process of the flotation of enterprises either. The more foreign capital from different countries of the world that there is in Lithuania and the more economic and other ties there are with other states, the stronger it will be economically and the more guarantees of the country's independence there will be.

[Stroganov] In your letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner you expressed Lithuania's will to join that organization. What do you think about Russia's reaction to that?

[Brazauskas] We expected such a reaction from Russia. However, I certainly do not believe that this reaction will change the good mutual relations between Lithuania and Russia.

I want to reiterate what I said in my statement on 4 January. Lithuania's position toward NATO is not directed against neighboring countries or any other states in Europe. We believe that both the character and the aims of NATO have changed since the Warsaw Pact ceased to exist. In addition, Lithuania does not seek isolation from its eastern neighbors and neither expresses nor encourages the psychology of bloc thinking. We believe that the more countries there are under the umbrella of European collective security the more calmly we shall enter the 21st century.

[Stroganov] Do you link Lithuania's destiny with Russia's?

[Brazauskas] You know that one can talk about shared destinies only in the sense of the extent to which our countries use mutually beneficial ties to enable them both to emerge from the economic crisis as quickly as possible.

I would like to recall here the Lithuanian Republic's constitutional act of 8 June 1992, which says that we will develop mutually beneficial ties with each state which used to belong to the USSR. However, we will never

enter into any kind of new political, military, economic, or other state unions or commonwealths created on the basis of the former USSR.

I should like to wish Russia's citizens fortitude on their path toward prosperity: May the strengthening of democracy and the creation of the market economy bring real benefit as quickly as possible.

## Gylys on NATO Membership, European Security

*WS2501083294 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 7 Jan 94 No. 4 p 3*

[Interview with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys by Gintaras Vinickas in Vilnius; date not given: "Povilas Gylys: 'Success Always Has Many Parents'"]

[Text] A few days have passed since Lithuania expressed its desire to be admitted to NATO. What has been the international reaction? Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys has answered this and other questions from our correspondent.

[Gylys] Reaction has been coming in from all sides: We have responses from our neighboring Estonians and Latvians, and from Russia. I would say that they are normal.

I think that our desire was unexpected to many countries, even though we have maintained close contacts with NATO. Last spring, I met with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. Recently, National Defense Minister L. Linkevicius visited the NATO headquarters. Our president has been corresponding with the secretary general. We have also expressed our position on NATO at its Cooperation Council and the CSCE forum. I have detailed our stand to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his meeting with the Baltic foreign ministers in Riga.

The reaction from the Baltic states is slightly different. Estonia's response is more reserved. By the way, the Baltic states were informed about our move in advance.

I would like to say that Russia could also contribute to the creation of a new security system in Europe. This will become possible when democratic tendencies win once and for all in Russia.

Adopting this decision, Lithuania followed its interests of national security. This decision is not directed against anyone. We are moving into an era of nonconfrontational politics.

[Vinickas] **We have heard some voices claiming that the expressed desire to join NATO is the opposition's accomplishment. Could you comment on this?**

[Gylys] It is said that success always has many parents, while failures are orphans.

I do not deny the opposition's contribution, but I remind everyone that the joint Seimas [parliament] resolution on foreign policy issues was supported by the votes of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] faction. It is then that the president was advised to apply for NATO membership.

The LDDP leadership considered this issue thoroughly for a long time. Our stand was as follows: Lithuania should participate in international security structures.

I admit that the opposition and the ruling force must look for common interests, if this is possible, and seek a consensus. However, the statements that, for example, all moves of the opposition are positive, while those of the government are correct only due to pressure, do not enlarge our possibilities to conduct a national foreign policy, as our opponents say. I see a contradiction between the urge to conduct such a policy and a completely negative reaction to our each move which the opposition approves.

[Vinickas] **It is understandable that joining NATO is a process. In your opinion, when will it be possible to find out whether NATO approves of this process?**

[Gylys] I would note that it was important to us to state our position.

I think that the NATO summit will discuss its future strategy and place in the contemporary world.

The rapprochement between NATO and Central and Eastern Europe should be mutual. NATO must make up its mind concerning its approach to Eastern and Central Europe: It would either adhere to old and tougher principles or lower the crossbar slightly and speed up the process of integration in creating a common European security system. Western politicians say that they would not like to create conditions for a recurrence of confronting blocs.

We could also speak about our preparedness. Lithuania's current military budget is "transparent." On the other hand, we must achieve public control of our military structures, because such demands are being put on us.

I would confirm that the movement toward NATO is an evolutionary process. We could only ask whether this evolution would be intensified. This does not depend on Lithuania alone.

One is often left with the impression that some Lithuanian politicians believe that foreign policy is conducted as if of its own volition. However, this is not the case. As an imposing organization, NATO understands its dilemmas and is aware of its responsibility to preserve peace on the continent.

[Vinickas] Thank you for the interview.

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